Towns in the Dark?

Urban Transformations from Late Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England

Gavin Speed

Archaeopress Archaeology

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Archaeopress
Gordon House
276 Banbury Road
Oxford OX2 7ED

www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978 1 78491 004 4
ISBN 978 1 78491 005 1 (e-Pdf)

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Printed in England by CMP (UK) Ltd

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Acknowledgements

Having grown up in Suffolk, not far from the famous ship burial of Sutton Hoo, the Anglo-Saxons have always been of close interest to me, as have the Romans, having first picked up a trowel in an excavation at Colchester in 1997, and having studied for a year in Italy in 2000. This book comes after over 15 years of digging and studying on numerous commercial and research archaeological projects, and was really formulated after working on a number of late Roman and Anglo-Saxon sites, where the archaeology of this period is often bewildering yet intriguing. This book is the result of PhD thesis research carried out from 2007 to 2013, undertaken while working full-time as an archaeologist for University of Leicester Archaeological Services (ULAS).

Many thanks first are extended to my PhD supervisors Dr Neil Christie and Richard Buckley for inspiration, consistent help, support, and comments throughout. I am also grateful to the following for advice and support: current and former ULAS staff, notably Dr Patrick Clay, Nick Cooper, Neil Finn, Wayne Jarvis, Dr Roger Kipling, and John Thomas. Thanks to those who have offered useful insights and opinions along the way: Dr Dave Edwards, Dr Adam Rogers, Dr Jeremy Taylor, Prof David Mattingly, Deirdre O'Sullivan, and Dr. Sarah Tarlow (all of School of Archaeology and Ancient History at the University of Leicester). Also: Dr Patricia Baker (University of Kent), Dr Will Bowden (University of Nottingham), Prof Martin Carver (Antiquity), Prof Simon Esmonde Cleary (University of Birmingham), Dr Matt Edgeworth (English Heritage), Dr Richard Macphail (University College, London), Prof John Moreland (University of Sheffield), Sam Morehead (British Museum), Dr Gareth Sears (University of Birmingham), and Dr Roger White (University of Birmingham).

Perhaps most crucially of all, a thank you goes to the numerous archaeologists who have produced a massive wealth of data from many commercial urban archaeology projects over recent years, without which this research would very much be far less informed. Particular thanks to the following for providing access to unpublished data, reports, and images: Nick Bateman (Museum of London Archaeology), Stuart Boulter (Archaeological Service, Suffolk County Council), Prof Mike Fulford (University of Reading), Fiona Haarer (Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies), John Herridge (City of Lincoln Council), Neil Holbrook (Cotswold Archaeology), Alison Hicks and Mark Houliston (Canterbury Archaeological Trust), Paul McCulloch (Wessex Archaeology), Pete Liddle (former Leicestershire County Council), Simon Pratt (Canterbury Archaeological Trust), Ian Riddler, Dr Nick Stoodley (University of Winchester), Steve Teague (Oxford Archaeology), and Chris Wardle (City Archaeologist, Leicester City Council).

Finally, special words of gratitude go to my family: firstly my parents for dragging me around ancient sites as a youngster (see Fig.84) and getting me interested in archaeology, and to my wife Lesley who has always supported me along the long road that is a part-time PhD. She must be the most archaeologically-informed medical doctor in the UK! In addition, I cannot omit to pass a 'hello' to my young son Henry and daughter Martha – hopefully one day they may read some of this!

Preface

What became of towns following the official end of 'Roman Britain' at the beginning of the 5th century AD? Did towns fail? Were these ruinous sites really neglected by early Anglo-Saxon settlers and leaders? Developed new archaeologies offer alternative pictures to the traditional images of urban decay and loss revealing diverse modes of material expression, of usage of space, and of structural change. The focus here is to draw together still scattered data to chart and interpret the changing nature of life in towns from the late Roman period through to the mid-Anglo-Saxon period (broadly AD 300 to 600).

Urban archaeology is constantly developing and en route improving our understanding of life within towns from the origins of the Iron Age oppida through to the modern industrial and commercial cityscapes. Arguably, the period least understood is that following the end of Britain as a Roman territory in the early 5th century, through to the emergence of new powers and new towns in the later Anglo-Saxon period (8th to 10th centuries AD). Traditionally this period has been seen as one of complete urban dereliction and ruin, the towns apparently left abandoned by the departing Romans (Collingwood and Myres 1937), and with a selection subsequently re-settled from the 7th century onwards (Hodges and Hobley 1988). This view is becoming outdated, inaccurate, and overly simplistic as new evidence, along with new ways of interpretation, points to vastly altering and changing townscapes – and yet ones revealing a continuity of life within them.

Take for example Leicester, a town where I have spent much of my professional archaeological career working. Here the traditional view of abandonment of the town in the 5th and 6th centuries held true until a series of major urban excavations from 2004-2006 revealed the clearest evidence yet for settlement and activity within the intra-mural area in the early post-Roman period. The image on the front cover of this book is an interpretation of results from a major urban excavation I supervised (Freeschool Lane), and which is soon to be published. The scene depicted is determined to be one of continued life amongst the ruins. There are apparent social or class levels within the society: at the lowest the squalor of a road-side beggar, contrasting with craft activities, and some organised labour/workforce. Perhaps the figure on the horse represents a member of one of the new local elite. Most importantly, this reconstruction drawing seeks to show a 5th-/6th-century ex-Roman town with people actively living within. Too often other reconstructed images (e.g. Canterbury or London) are zoomed out to a bird's-eye perspective to display the entire ruined town – to highlight that expected view of decline and abandonment of the once glorious Roman urban centres – not showing that life within them was continuing.

It is important to draw the academic picture back to the last century of Roman rule to test the often cited view of towns already in 'decline' by c.AD 300, and to ask: how did the townscape adjust to major changes throughout the empire, and what is the emerging picture of Late Roman town life? 'Towns' in the sense of classical Roman centres – fine buildings, public monuments and services, etc – may have failed by the mid-5th century, but were they really empty ruinous shells? Or did life continue within them – as suggested in the front page image – in a vastly different style to what had gone before? These questions form the core to this present research which builds upon my professional and academic experience and my personal academic interest, to explore, question, and analyse this unique phase of urban redefinition. It is the aim of this study to trace and debate this evidence for life within towns – rather than tracing 'town life' – to fully characterise towns over three centuries of dramatic change:

- AD 300-450 – a period that sees major urban transformations and an official end to Roman control of Britain
- AD 450-600 – a timespan marked by the appearance of 'Anglo-Saxons' in Britain, divisions between east and west, new structures and peoples within the townscapes

My study is timely, given the large body of evidence from recent major excavations in English city centres and research-led projects across the country. This material expands greatly on what earlier scholars took into consideration and so requires a careful collation and assessment. Sadly, many data remain largely unpublished, but many are nonetheless accessible and their detailed analysis generates significant scope for modelling urbanism from AD 300-600. This will show that life did indeed continue within some towns beyond AD 410 – if in vastly altering and differing forms and durations. It is the purpose of this book to establish the type of settlements seen and in what forms, and the varied usages of the urban space that emerged, to establish why life in some towns failed, and why others persisted.

Chapter 1:

Introduction and Methodology

1.1 Research Background

Towns are constantly evolving, developing, declining, or regenerating. As complex socio-economic spaces, their development sequences are intricate and diverse and no two towns and populations are the same. In Britain, urban change was perhaps never more pronounced than in the late Roman period (4th to early 5th century) and the early Anglo-Saxon period (5th and 6th centuries). Romano-British towns have in the past been too readily labelled either as having declined and failed by the beginning of the 4th century (Faulkner 2004), or stayed vigorous throughout the 4th century, perhaps even first witnessing a 'golden age' (de la Bedoyère 2000), that lasted into the 5th century (Dark 1994, 2000). More recent studies have tended towards a more balanced view, arguing that the 4th century sees political and economic changes in the wider Empire that radically alter towns, including the emergence of more regionalised differences (Mattingly 2006: 326). The 5th century sees a formal end to Roman administration, economy and society, but exactly when or how rapidly Roman 'withdrawal' occurs is still a matter of major academic debate. Towns had formed a key component of the Roman imperial provincial economy and society, but what were the characteristics of these towns in the late Roman period and for how long did they continue in the same style following the removal of Roman control, technology, and taxation?

Documentary sources are all but non-existent for this period in Britain, with the more extensive continental sources such as the later 4th-century historian Ammianus Marcellinus (27.8) only offering passing reference. One of the few useful, but later, British sources are the writings of Gildas in *De Excidio Britanniae*, where the state of towns is described as:

> Lamentable to behold, in the midst of the streets lay the tops of lofty towers, tumbled to the ground, stones of high walls, holy altars, fragments of human bodies, covered with livid clots of coagulated blood, looking as if they had been squeezed together in a press.
>
> Gildas XIV: 15-19

Can we view this image presented to us by Gildas as accurate? It is obviously a shocking vision, designed to criticise the ruling kings or tyrants. The view depicted is seen by scholars as too generalised, but it does imply a loss and destruction, while at the same time showing signs at least that towns were visible entities. Due to the difficulties of identifying and interpreting the archaeological evidence, this period has in the past been too easily simplified, relegated, or overlooked, with town life dismissed simply as decline and failure (Reece 1980; Faulkner 2004). This view may have been dominant in the early 20th century perhaps because of imperialist perspectives and issues of 'Romanisation' (Haverfield 1912), in which the bright value of Rome was overplayed (Collingwood and Myres 1937), with Rome's monumental light removed in the 5th century.

A key reason relates to the fragile and discrete nature of the surviving archaeological evidence, often lost or damaged in modern towns through truncation or inadequate excavation methodologies – leaving a gap that too easily matches the ruin and voids evoked by Gildas. Towns after Rome therefore were long interpreted as ruinous shells, left empty until the 'rebirth' of some towns in the 7th and 8th centuries (see papers in Hodges and Hobley 1988). It is a picture that in fact until the 1980s strongly prevailed, but is now one being constantly revisited through more developed urban archaeological investigations and analysis.

There are many signs of progress. The major excavations at Winchester by Martin Biddle in the 1960s (Biddle 1964-1970) were the first to show the value of organised, professional urban excavations (Hill 1987: 46). This urban archaeological profile was raised illustrating the finite archaeological resource, especially by the Council for British Archaeology's *The Erosion of History* (Heighway 1972). Government-funded urban units in Oxford, York, and London began to be formed (Ottaway 1992: 12), and led the way to a refinement of methods employed, and to a fuller and better understanding of archaeological sequences. The papers in *Urban Archaeology in Britain* (Schofield and Leech 1987), and Martin Carver's *Underneath English Towns* (1987), and Patrick Ottaway's *Archaeology in British Towns* (1992) were essentially the product of these earlier excavations, and demonstrated the growing quality of knowledge in urban archaeology.

Ottaway's study is focused on British towns, though, unlike Carver, he approaches urban development framed by chronological periods – dividing the Roman from the Anglo-Saxon town – rather than assessing broad change through time. He does raise important questions such as issues of 'ends' and 'decline' in late Roman towns: 'the Roman period is often taken to end in *c*.410…the date is still a convenient one to use when assessing the decline of town life in Roman Britain and the fate of town sites in the post-Roman period' (Ottaway 1992: 111). He argues for a slow decline as advocated by Reece: 'the evidence as it appears to us today is not so much for a violent bang, but rather for a feeble whimper as the urban economy expired

and townsfolk drifted away to the countryside to become subsistence farmers' (*ibid*: 118). This is an oversimplified view, and one that will be tested in this research by looking at the types of public and private buildings maintained and utilised throughout the 4th century, and potentially into the 5th century.

Carver (1993: 40) notes that 'five hundred puzzling years separate the ordered formality of the Roman *civitas* capital from the Anglo-Saxon city…and archaeological investigation can throw much light on them'. He rightly stresses that the use of space will change throughout time, and that it is not 'a natural or organic evolution, but maybe controlled by ideological and political factors' (*ibid:* 39). It remains to be seen within this research whether there are new powers dictating settlement within 5th-6th-century towns in Britain. Certainly Carver raises a crucial point that investigations of this period should be viewed not as tracing 'decline', but as exploring changing investment strategies of new powers: 'when new evidence for the 5th to 8th centuries is examined closely we shall see a redistribution of wealth and investment following new political priorities, rather than decline or impoverishment' (*ibid*: 98).

The introduction of PPG16 (Planning Policy Guidance Note 16) in 1990 (and its subsequent modified forms) radically changed the face of archaeology across Britain. The 'polluter pays' policy led to the emergence of many private archaeological units, competing against one another in a commercial environment. It could be suggested that this is a detriment to the archaeology (i.e. lower standards), but on the contrary, units abide to stringent levels of archaeological practice (set by the Institute for Field Archaeologists, and monitored by the City Archaeologist within the relevant local city council). Since the early 2000's the larger commercial units are also actively involved in refining and setting regional resource assessments and research agendas. A good example is the *East Midlands Archaeological Resource Assessment* (Cooper 2006), that draws upon both commercial and academic inputs (see Section 1.2). Until recently access to those 'grey-literature' sources has been difficult, but this is changing. In recent years a large number of reports from commercial projects are continually uploaded onto the Archaeological Data Service's Online Access to the Index of Archaeological Investigations (OASIS, see http://oasis.ac.uk/). There are still exploring and indexing problems, but commercial archaeology projects are to be seen as a huge resource.

Commercial, developer-funded projects will almost always have more limitations on retrieving the archaeological data, when compared to academic research-led projects (especially on time-scale and funding – see Fulford and Holbrook 2011). The archaeological evidence from the late 4th century through to the 10th century largely consists of timber remains that are often poorly preserved – or at least survive poorly in urban contexts. Therefore, they are only generally visible in large-scale, open-area excavations – unfortunately something of a rarity. No matter how good the research agendas are for a region or for a town, the excavations are virtually always dictated within areas of targeted commercial redevelopment. From my own urban archaeology experience it is often a case of good fortune to discover even an Anglo-Saxon post-hole within the middle of a modern city containing an assortment of later truncations from medieval pitting, Victorian cellars, and 20th century deep concrete piling!

The data remain inconsistent, but there are some towns that have seen recent major phases of urban redevelopment (notably London, Canterbury, and Leicester) and a concomitant substantial increase in archaeological data. Three clear examples (Caistor-by-Norwich, Wroxeter, and Silchester) do not have modern towns overlying the remains, and so these have the luxury of potentially accessing the data whenever there are suitable research projects proposed and/or finances secured (each have already revealed significant new discoveries on 4th- and 5th-century town life, adding much to wider debates. Other towns have seen relatively little urban redevelopment: 'there have been few major interventions in town centres compared with pre-PPG 16 rescue excavation in the period of the 1960s to 1980s' (Fulford and Holbrook 2011: 335). However, this does enable the backlog of previous excavations in larger sites to be fully published (see, for example, Lincoln and the Lincoln Archaeology Series – e.g. Jones *et al*. 2003). Even excavations from over 60 years ago continue to be hotly debated and dating disputed, as at Verulamium in recent publications (Neil 2003, Frere 2011) and a recent major conference ('AD 410 The End of Roman Britain', conference held at the British Museum, March 2010).

In general, urban excavations normally reveal complex, diverse sequences of activity, which, for the 4th to 7th centuries, are hard to identify archaeologically initially. But, despite the increase in archaeological data, the evidence does not appear to point to a clearly identifiable direction that life in towns was taking (i.e. continuity or collapse), meaning the data can be read in differing ways – too often either from a pessimistic or from an optimistic perspective (Ward-Perkins 1997). It is therefore of vital importance to avoid research geared just to an individual town, but to compare sequences in varied contexts and other areas and regions around Britain to enable a more coherent reading of the patchy but growing archaeological record.

Put simply, debates about the end of Roman Britain persist on establishing not just whether Roman towns survived into the 5th and 6th centuries (Ward-Perkins 1996), but also whether decay begins well before the withdrawal of Roman rule (Reece 1980, Faulkner 2004). The focus of this current research takes a new approach to trace and debate the nature of life within towns. The study is undertaken by reassessing and plotting the archaeological evidence over a range of case studies across late Roman to Anglo-Saxon Britain.

1.2 Research Aims and Questions

The research aims to tackle critical national research priorities highlighted in three key English Heritage documents: *Thematic Research Strategy for the Urban Historic Environment* (EH 2010), *Research Strategy for the Roman-Period Historic Environment* (Wilson 2012: 12-15), and *Strategic framework for Historic Environment Activities and Programmes in English Heritage* (English Heritage 2008).

The following research priorities will be targeted:

- Understanding key transitions. Interface between Late Roman and Post-Roman periods, 'approaches that look...beyond the early fifth century to explain both the transitions and individual site histories are required' (English Heritage 2010: RM3). Character of change in the 4th century, emphasis on urban data sets, recognising and understanding 5th century data, refining chronological models. Assessment of cultural indicators for transition (English Heritage 2008: 11112.510).
- Holistic approaches to Roman-period landscapes. Overcoming gaps and biases in data, recognition of regional diversity (English Heritage 2010: RM2).
- Unlocking potential of unpublished data and getting the most out of the data. Utilising commercial archaeology 'grey literature', incorporation of developer-funded sites into works of synthesis (English Heritage 2010: RM4). Review and analyse unpublished historic environment investigations to ensure that past resources are not wasted (English Heritage 2008: 11113.110).
- Historic characterisation. Map-based method to see an overview of a character of landscapes and developments. Utilise Urban Archaeological Databases (Wilson 2012, English Heritage 2010: 3.2).

More specific and regionalised themes for research have been highlighted in a series of English Heritage funded Archaeological Resource Assessments and Research Agendas across Britain. The resource agendas generally cover one or more of the targeted case study towns, and even if they do not cover a specific targeted town within this research, they do raise important wider research themes and issues. They are in various states of completion – the first fully published was for the Eastern counties (Glazebrook 1997), but others remain in preparation (notably the South-East). The various frameworks currently available are listed in Table 1.

Within these regional assessments it is clear that a number of key research questions emerge. For the East Midlands, Vince highlights the importance of all aspects of the period from the 5th to 9th centuries: 'there are very few aspects of the 5th to 9th-century archaeology of the East Midlands which would not benefit from further research' (Vince 2006: 161). But he does specify three key priority themes, the first of which this research targets – the Roman/Anglo-Saxon transition: 'we should therefore take the traditional model of Romano-British history of the late 4th and 5th centuries as one of a number of possible models for this period and test them against evidence derived from archaeology' (*ibid*: 162). A crucial point he makes is the importance to have an understanding of late Roman settlement as well as the Anglo-Saxon period, since the earlier settlement will have heavily influenced the later settlement. More specific research needs are to look for the identification of estate centres, to assess the maintenance and upkeep of Roman roads and the establishment of new routes from the 5th to 9th centuries, and to assess the Anglo-Saxon use of late Roman walled towns (*ibid*: 165).

The West Midlands research agendas highlight the importance of looking at the emergence of towns and the territorial organisation and settlement patterns. Wroxeter is highlighted as helpful to 'question the nature of sub-

Table 1: Regional Archaeological Resource Assessments currently available

REGION	RELEVANT SITES COVERED	REFERENCE
East Midlands	Leicester, Lincoln	Cooper 2006; Knight *et al.* 2011
West Midlands	Wroxeter	Watt 2011
South-West	Cirencester, Dorchester, Exeter, Winchester	Webster 2007
Eastern Counties	Verulamium, Caistor-by-Norwich	Glazebrook 1997; Brown and Glazebrook 2000; Medlycott 2011
North-East	Hadrian's Wall	Petts and Gerrard 2006
North-West	Chester	Brennand 2007
Wales	Caerwent	http://www.archaeoleg.org.uk
Yorkshire and Humber	York, Aldborough, Catterick	Roskams and Whyman 2005; Roskams and Whyman 2007
South-East	London, Canterbury, Silchester	http://www.kent.gov.uk/leisure_and_culture/heritage/south_east_research_framework.aspx?theme=mobile

Roman continuity and the degree and character of British cultural life in the 5th to 7th centuries' (Webster 2007: 1). The issues of ethnicity and cultural identity also feature in the South-West Regional Research Framework, a region that encompasses case studies Cirencester and Winchester. The Eastern Counties Research Agenda notes the importance of Verulamium, as well as the need to: 'become more adept at recognising sites with long stratigraphies spanning the 4th and 5th centuries' (Going 1997: 41). Also flagged are issues of identifying what was happening in the latest stratigraphic 'Roman' levels, and to assess what Roman industries are evident within late Roman towns.

From these various studies, and the clear gaps or difficulties within academic debate (reviewed in Chapter 2), my research questions are:

- What did life in towns consist of and how did it change throughout the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries?
- How long were typically 'Roman' structures and space used and maintained?
- How was town space utilised by the new 'Anglo-Saxon' populations?

More specifically the central research aims are to:

- assess the changing nature of Romano-British towns through detailed evaluation of archaeological and historical data
- categorize areas of occupation and usage and assess socio-economic significances across time
- assess images of 'decay' (waste space, dark earth) and sequences of material display
- consider the impact of evolving religion and power structures
- model data via Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to show spatial patterns of settlement and usage of intra-mural space
- identify the changing demands of late Roman to early medieval 'urbanism' in Britain.

1.3 Structure of the Book

This book is a published version of my PhD thesis, and takes on the following structure: This research is articulated around a series of key regional case studies selected for their actual and potential contribution to offering a more secure image of life within towns throughout the three centuries under study. Within the South-East: London, Canterbury and Colchester; the South-West: Silchester, Winchester, Cirencester; and the Midlands: Leicester, Lincoln, and Wroxeter. Their study is framed by a review of the data sources (Section 1.4), and the research methodology (Section 1.5). This highlights the sources available to study – both written and archaeological – and problems in their analysis and use such as the dating of artefacts (and therefore of settlements).

Chapter 2 is a detailed literature review to set the current perspectives and studies into a context from which it is possible to frame and direct my research. Focus is mainly on critiquing academic viewpoints, from the early 20th-century archaeologists of Haverfield and Collingwood; to the 1960s and 1970s boom in urban archaeology from Frere (1966) and Wacher (1976); 1980s rescue archaeology debates by Reece (1980) and Esmonde Cleary (1989); through to the debates of Dark (2000) and Faulkner (2004), and more recent studies (Sami and Speed 2010; Rogers 2011).

Chapters 3 to 5 contains the detailed case study analyses. Each chapter divides the case studies into the three specific geographical regions and contains a detailed review of the archaeological evidence and chronologies of activity, within each town from AD 300 – 600. Crucial here is the accessibility of evidence for late Roman, sub-Roman, and Anglo-Saxon settlement within these Roman walled towns, to facilitate a clearer understanding of the Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition. It is important to assess the reasons for living within a 'town', and to assess how far was life in towns based on authority, defence, economic need or even convenience. Within the broad theme of tracing settlement within towns, close analysis of the archaeological data seeks to characterise these settlements. The towns will be discussed within the context of their regional hinterland and in relation to other urban centres within the region. Where possible, artefactual and settlement evidence will be mapped using GIS to trace patterns of the use of intra-mural areas.

Drawing core results from the previous chapters, Chapters 6 and 7 analyse the nature, form, and scope of towns and their environs across the study period. It is within these chapters that a wider discussion takes place, and models of settlement change are proposed.

Chapter 6 looks at towns from c.AD 300 to c. 400, detailing the use of late Roman buildings and the importance of defensive circuits. For the late 4th century it is crucial to establish the character and depth of urbanism: how secure are these as points of administration and population? How long and in what way were public and private buildings maintained into and through the 4th century? How many still functioned in the 5th – and why? Do these structures take on new roles and functions? Town defences appears an important component of late Roman towns and their role to those living within and around the town is vital, but were they maintained, did all towns have visible defences, or could they even be manned adequately?

Chapter 7 deals with AD 400 – 600, a period historically associated with the first appearance of new Anglo-Saxon populations within eastern England. Key here is to understand the longevity of the remaining 'Roman' structures in townscapes and to identify what type – if any – of new structures and buildings emerge. Three models of change are proposed. After this an analysis of identified building types and their locations within ex-Roman centres is offered on 'Anglo-Saxon' structures

(Sunken-Featured Buildings and halls). This chapter will also assess how once public and private areas of the Roman town were re-used by new populations, and if there is evidence for active and inactive zones or a zoning of commercial and residential areas, or signs of an enduring class system. To what extent do Roman street grids survive into the 5th and 6th centuries? Is it possible to identify levels of population? How were the towns perceived, and what administrative role did they play? The role of towns around AD 600 begins to change with the re-emergence of the Church – and this is briefly reviewed in this chapter.

Finally, Chapter 8 reviews the key findings, and evaluates and debates the trajectories proposed in Chapters 6 and 7. The notable achievements this work has produced are outlined, followed by a summary of the remaining gaps and issues.

1.4 Data Sources

This section looks specifically at the types of material available, the modes and methods of study, analysis and interpretation, and identifies current gaps and biases in our data sources.

There are two clear types of data available – archaeological and historical. Both have useful elements to help aid interpretation of the period AD 300 – 600. However, written sources are severely lacking (especially in the 5th and 6th centuries, see Yorke 1993), prompting a greater reliance upon the archaeological evidence, which itself has its limitations.

Written Sources

There are only two British documentary sources from the 5th and 6th centuries. The most useful is that of Gildas, whose *De Excidio Britanniae* is a criticism of the kings (or tyrants) and Church in the 6th century AD. It provides a basic narrative chronicling the events leading to the Anglo-Saxon invasion and subsequent conquest, describing the Anglo-Saxons as:

> …our foes in the east…destroying the neighbouring towns and lands, it reached the other side of the island, and dipped its red and savage tongue in the western ocean.
>
> Gildas XIV: 1-3

Towns are mentioned in his chronicle of events (see quote in Section 1.1), but very little detail is offered on these. He places the blame for the loss of towns on the Anglo-Saxons, and, based on these writings, it appears that life within towns had come to a swift end by the 450s, seeing much destruction and desolation by the mid-5th century between the native British and the Anglo-Saxon incoming populations.

Gildas' version of events details the arrival of 'Anglo-Saxon' mercenaries in Britain as part of a Late Roman treaty. Following this, at some point these troops rebelled and invited in fellows from across the sea, and so began fully the Adventus Saxonum (the arrival of the Saxons). This basic chronology has largely formed the basis for all future studies, from Bede writing in the 8th century, to Gibbon in the later 18th century, and the many historians and archaeologists of the 20th and 21st centuries. A key event of the 5th century (following the formal 'end' to Roman Britain in AD 410) is the appeal to Aetius, dated to around 446-54 (Dark 2000: 35). According to Gildas only after this date did 'Saxons' arrive as foederati (mercenaries), the rebellion occurring some time after this, possibly in the late 5th century. This is an important point on assessing the dates of the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlements dated archaeologically. It hints at an active, organised system of authority still looking East and possibly still based in the old Romano-British towns. Gildas listed 28 towns (perhaps mainly in the west), and describes them (but does not name them) with an emphasis on their defences (II: 3).

Gildas' text is of great value, though its understanding and interpretation is difficult. The date of composition varies, with the latest estimates ranging from the AD 480s (Higham 1994), to around 500 (George 2009: 8), or to the 540s (Dark 2000: 36). Much has been made on the limits of the validity and usefulness of Gildas (George 2009: 48), but his work is certainly useful as a broad outline or chronology where much information can be gleaned: 'the outline of events can be discerned through careful examination of Gildas's text' (Higham 1994: 203).

There are other British sources available such as Confessio of St. Patrick that may have been written in the later 5th century. The life of St. Patrick was an eventful one but critically it reveals a continued Roman society with towns and villas still active in the west of the island. However, the usefulness of the document is in question as it is undated (Dumville 1977: 173-192). Other British sources of potential 5th- or 6th-century date are of even less reliability and credibility, while stone inscriptions are useful (especially in Wales), as is place-name evidence (Barrow 1978). The only other sources are a number of continental texts who offer only passing reference to events in Britain – such as Procopius, Orosius, and Zosimus – most of whom never visited Britain. The Vita Germani, a text by Constantius of Lyon, records St. Germanus' mission to Britain in c. AD 429. This is the last record of a formal Roman visit to Britain until St. Augustine's visit in AD 597 to convert the Saxons.

Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (The Ecclesiastical History of the English People) was completed by AD 731 and contains a narrative history of the conversion of the English people to Christianity from the AD 590s to the early 8th century. The work essentially draws upon and expands that of Gildas. His worked helped form the core narrative and thinking ever since, stating that the Germanic tribes entering Britain consisted of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes: '*Aduenerant autem de tribus Germaniae populis fortioribus, id est Saxonibus, Anglis, Iutis'* (Bede I: xv). It was written from a moral Christian

standpoint mixing fact and fiction, but does remain a valuable resource.

Later British sources, such as the Tribal Hidage (late 7th century), Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (9th century onwards), and Historia Brittonum (9th century) all offer useful elements, and some may draw upon earlier 5th- and 6th-century documents. However, they add little to help aid our understanding of life in the 5th and 6th centuries that the earlier source of Gildas does not already cover.

Archaeological Evidence

Such restricted documentary data necessarily demand a greater – almost total – reliance on physical evidence and close scrutiny of its context, nature and meaning. However, identifying this evidence is a complex and difficult task as the surviving evidence is generally very slight, often surviving poorly in difficult urban settings.

Until the 1960s, when urban archaeology began to evolve into its current professional state, the excavation strategies meant that the post-Roman archaeological layers were often termed 'truncation', and so were left unrecorded (Vince 1990: viii). The attitudes of archaeologists began to change as recognition of the importance of this evidence was realised with improving methodologies; for example, the excavations undertaken by Barker at Wroxeter from 1966 to 1994 (White and Barker 1998) revealed evidence for a re-use of the Roman basilica buildings across the 5th and 6th centuries, dramatically changing our understanding of towns in the early 'post-Roman' period. The profile of early medieval archaeology also improved in the 1970s following the amazing discoveries at sites like Coppergate, York, and at Winchester. Methodologies and research agendas began to be formed and discussed in important publications such as Urban Archaeology in Britain (Schofield and Leech 1987), Underneath English Towns (Carver 1987), and Archaeology in British Towns (Ottaway 1992). These were all published around the time of the introduction of PPG16, a major turning point in British Archaeology, leading to a huge increase in excavated sites through the dominance of developer-funded excavation projects.

Even with the skills now learnt archaeologists are limited on where to excavate within towns. Most urban excavations are developer-funded and so are dictated not by research agendas but by the demands of modern redevelopment (for example, the recent Whitefriars in Canterbury (Hicks and Houliston 2005) and the Highcross Project in Leicester (Coward and Speed 2007; Gnanaratnam 2009; Higgins *et al*. 2007)). In recent years there has been a move to integrate developer-funded projects into regional and national archaeological research agendas – especially within the regional Archaeological Resource Assessments. This is a major step forward, but the choice of where to excavate will almost always be dictated by modern consumer demands. However, there are exceptions such as academic research projects like the *Insula* IX Silchester project (Fulford *et al*. 2006), and the Wallingford Burh to Borough Project – the latter also utilising developer-led data too (Christie *et al*. 2009).

Despite advances in excavation skills and archaeological understanding, the physical remains of the 4th and 5th centuries often remain slight and discrete. Perhaps archaeology of this period – and more so for the 5th century – should be viewed as an equivalent to prehistoric archaeology in that it is often difficult to identify and interpret – essentially it is 'trace archaeology' (Carver 1987: 6). The structural and settlement evidence, consisting of post-holes, beam-slots, ephemeral traces of shallow layers, or pits, are all that remain of timber buildings. In some cases (such as a 3rd-century building in *Insula* IX at Silchester) the structural element can be completely lost to later truncation (ploughing, etc.), leaving just a hearth and rubbish pits to define its edges (Fulford 2012a: 259). The superstructures and repairs to walls are almost always lost to us given the limited stratigraphy surviving.

In fully urban contexts (i.e. not 'greenfield'), large-scale excavations are rare, so that often excavations only consist of small trenches (more of a 'key-hole' or peep-hole view into the past), where the identification and a more rounded interpretation can be lost. While on large open-area rural excavations this is less of a problem, within urban settings things are vastly different, and this has to be acknowledged as biasing and limiting how we might perceive life in towns after Roman rule. For the majority of towns that thrive today, there is the further 'burden' of another 1300 years of pitting, robbing, cellaring, and site clearance, which may have fully or partly removed the fragile archaeological evidence. Some excavations of Roman towns are research projects (the leading examples being Wroxeter and Silchester), both on 'greenfield' sites, without the added complication of modern towns overlying the remains. The time-scale and size of the areas investigated at these sites is much longer and larger than any commercial project could hope for (the Silchester *Insula* IX project continues to run annually after over a decade). Both have produced substantial evidence of 'Roman'-style buildings long into the 5th and 6th centuries.

Even once these various excavation projects have been completed, many can often see substantial delays in their eventual publication, or may never be fully published. Access to the unpublished data is becoming easier through Urban Archaeological Databases (UAD) that contain records of excavations and locations of historical artefacts from the Historic Environment Records (some linked to English Heritage's intensive and extensive urban surveys). Many allow access to the basic versions on-line (see http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/CHR/), and all are available directly from the relevant local council. Another notable improvement is access to over 3000 unpublished grey literature fieldwork reports through OASIS (http://oasis.ac.uk, or http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/library/greylit). The numbers are ever increasing and will make for a highly accessible and useful resource in time. Individual

archaeological units are also more focused at maintaining a strong web presence with news on discoveries often now being updated on a regular basis.

Dating Activity: Closing the Material Culture Gap

The problem of actually identifying activity is further compounded by difficulties in closely dating the material culture. Artefact chronologies have in truth been based largely on the historical sources and so struggle to establish just how long Roman material culture objects remained in use for, and how early Anglo-Saxon pottery and artefacts appeared in towns. What is still unclear is what were the levels of material culture exchange between the old and new populations within Britain during this period of transition? How far were these old 'identities' retained or lost?

In the semi-distant past, study of the material artefacts was too often dismissed: 'Pottery and architectural remains tell us nothing' (Collingwood and Myres 1936: 295) in assessing towns after Rome. Attempts to see a fusion of Roman and Anglo-Saxon pottery styles (e.g. Dunning *et al*. 1959; Roberts 1982; Rodwell 1970) have since proved unlikely (Kennett 1978; Leahy 2007), and so essentially there is a wide contrasting split between the material culture of the late Roman period, and that of the early Anglo-Saxon period – creating therefore a material culture 'gap'.

The key issue here, therefore, is whether there is a genuine gap? Faulkner and Reece argue for such a case between AD 375 – 475, and stress that we should not seek to fill a void that cannot be filled (Faulkner and Reece 2002: 75). Others, however, such as Brooks, put the gap down to an archaeological 'invisibility' (Brooks 1988: 101). Should the lack of evidence be taken at face value? Or are the changes in material culture, and the archaeology, much more discrete? Certainly the issue of how long typically 'Roman' artefacts remained in use into the early 5th century remains open to debate. However, any artefacts used as tools for dating archaeologically visible activity have a limited use, as structures may have sequences that exceed the conventional date range of pottery and coins, as recently illustrated by the long sequence at Bath (Gerrard 2007).

Coins and pottery are crucial dating tools in Roman archaeology, yet both have major restrictions from the late 4th century onwards. The latest 'Roman' occupation layers are usually dated by coins for which the last official issues dry up c.AD 402. In reality, such coins may have continued into the 5th century (given the lack of new issues minted or brought to Britain), although their mode of use will have changed (Reece 2002: 63). The difficult issue for archaeologists, which is hard to resolve, is when did they actually enter the archaeological record? Recent work examining the wear on coins to gain an idea of their likely lifetime in circulation at Silchester, suggests an average of around 10 to 20 years after being issued (Besley 2006: 83). Wider studies on coin hoards in Britain further indicate increasing numbers of very late coins now being identified, though their longevity as coins remains open for (analysis and) debate (Wells 2007: 7).

Regarding ceramics, it is widely accepted that pottery production ceased at the end of Roman Britain (Esmonde Cleary 1989: 85-91), although some have argued that 'Roman' pottery cannot be securely dated from the latter half of the 4th century onwards (Faulkner and Reece 2002: 59). Certainly there was a major breakdown of the economic system, but day-to-day transactions may have continued, perhaps commercially, into the 5th century. Studies on late pottery assemblages in Somerset and Dorset argue that the interpretation of the likes of Faulkner and Reece is fundamentally flawed, as pottery assemblages of Black Burnished Ware can be linked to other archaeological evidence that suggests continued production from the late 4th century into the early 5th century (Fulford and Allen 1996; Gerrard 2004: 71). Elsewhere, research focused on East Yorkshire has also traced late Roman ceramic sequences (Wyman 2001). This raises important questions of the longevity of other late Roman pottery production sites within 5th-century Britain. Problematic is the scale and market – did these shrink? If so, why? Were they tied to urban prosperity or to state or military control?

The appearance of 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture in towns (pottery, brooches, jewellery, or bone objects) is traditionally placed to after AD 450, where chronologies are offered crudely on unreliable written sources as discussed above. Most of the archaeological chronologies offered for ceramics and metalwork derive mainly from burial data rather than from domestic sites. This means that the settlement chronologies remain unrefined, and the material evidence can often only be broadly dated to the '5th to 6th centuries' (i.e. they are stylistically 'Early' Anglo-Saxon rather than 'Mid' or 'Late' Anglo-Saxon). Actually closely dating isolated artefacts remains problematic, however, but artefacts found within closely controlled and well-excavated archaeological sequences offer much more potential on refining artefactual chronologies. Pottery chronologies of the early Anglo-Saxon period are slowly improving, with studies on the analysis of thin-sections from over 6,000 examples collated (Vince 2005). This research has noted slight variations in pottery types of early Anglo-Saxon date: normally it is of low technology and hand-made, often poorly fired and dark grey or black in appearance; the vessels are usually plain and undecorated of simple form (Kennett 1978: 12), with little discernible change in pottery style and manufacture until the introduction of Ipswich or Maxey ware in the seventh century (Vince 2005: 228). The crucial factor here regarding pottery styles is the variety between local styles, suggesting regionalised production and distribution. Cremation vessels are often the most numerous surviving, and detailed typology studies can produce good artefact sequences over long periods. For example at the large Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Cleatham in Lincolnshire, over 1,200 cremations were excavated, many with inter-cutting urns, these produced clear phasing from the 5th to 7th centuries (Leahy 2007).

Other Anglo-Saxon artefacts suffer similar limitations with chronologies, as all are linked into the same framework as the pottery. Leeds (1913) studies on metalwork objects still remain standard texts, and bone objects have seen little recent studies (Walton Rogers 2007: 111). Studies of other artefacts, such as tracing the distribution of late Roman buckles and belt-fittings, and Anglo-Saxon metalwork, has identified differing types of cultural identities (represented by brooch styles in England, and plots of Irish place-names and ogham-inscribed stones in Wales – Laycock 2008). These appear to indicate differing ethnic groups defined within each province from the 4th to 5th centuries, or at least varied groups bringing in distinctive forms of material culture. Mucking in Essex, a large open-area excavation, revealed a long shifting occupation sequence (Hamerow 1993). Again the ceramic sequences formed there have helped to refine the regional chronologies.

These various studies thus clearly demonstrate that there is progress, but much potential for further study still exists, with refinement of pottery forms, brooches, and bone objects; and the problem persists on establishing the earliest date for 'Anglo-Saxon' activity and settlement within towns, as noted, the evidence currently relates more to cemeteries than to settlement sites. Perhaps the populations of the early 5th century were simply continuing to use 4th-century material, or were using objects that do not generally survive within the archaeological record (namely organic materials). Cooper terms the people living during this time the 'blank generation' (1996: 85); it is only with the introduction of a new people and culture in the mid- to late 5th century come the new 'Anglo-Saxon' artefacts, but these are also stifled by broadly phased chronologies. Thus, there remains a wide, contrasting split between the material culture of the late Roman period, and that of the early Anglo-Saxon period: creating a material

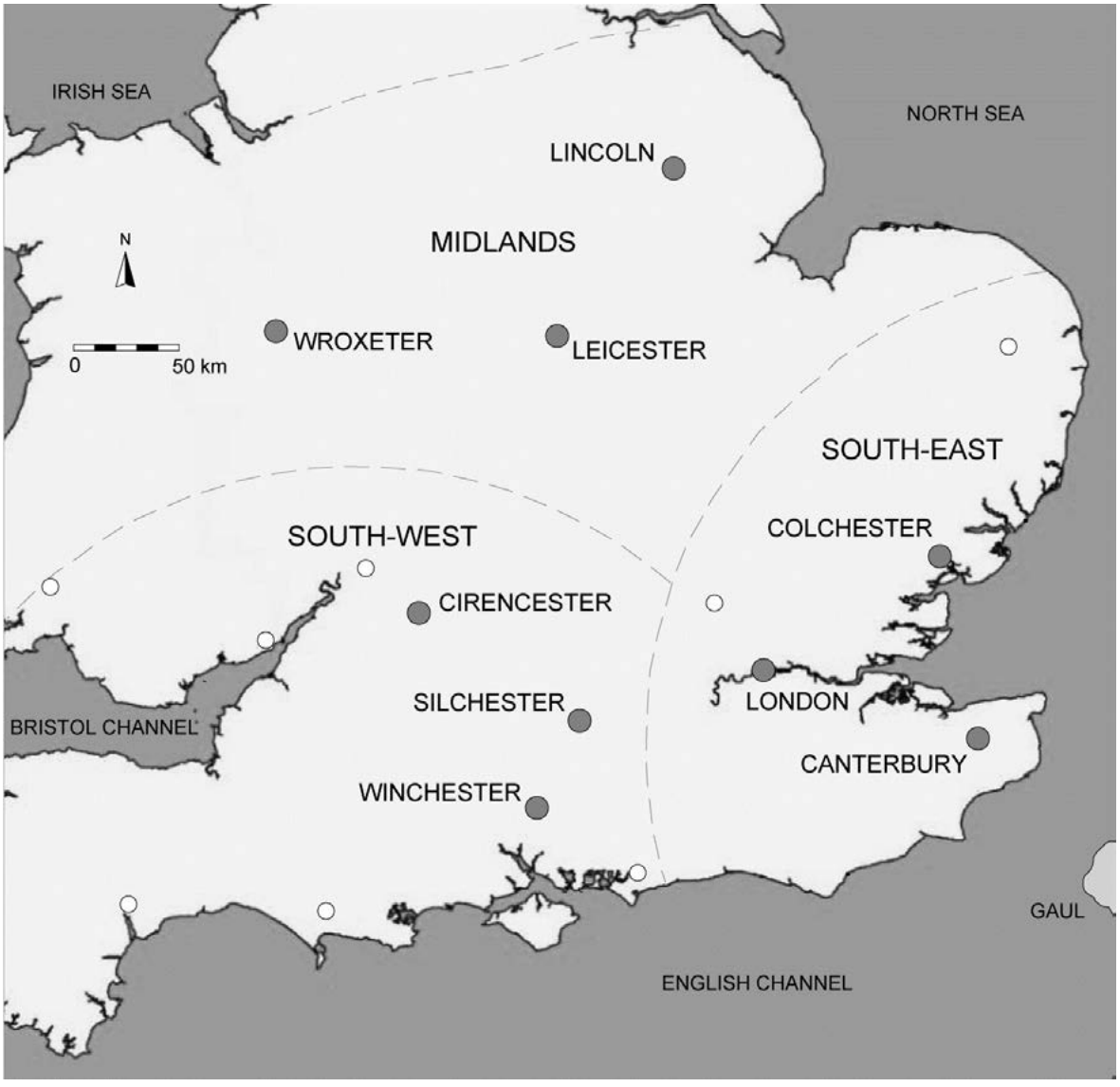


Figure 1: Case study towns and regions. The South-East (London, Canterbury, Colchester); the South-West (Cirencester, Silchester, Winchester); the Midlands (Leicester, Lincoln, Wroxeter). Other major towns shaded.

culture 'gap'. Arguably, we are causing headaches for ourselves by assigning labels such as 'sub-Roman' or 'Anglo-Saxon' to the pottery and other objects, which almost force and cement a period-divide. Surely it is better to let the archaeology speak for itself.

1.5 Methodology

The approach taken here is largely archaeological, drawing on a growing databank of work and finds. I draw also principally on a set of specific sites. Next we discuss the study time frame, and case studies methods of data collection / analysis.

Study Period: Definitions and Labels

From the above discussion, problems span the period AD 300-600 in terms of dating, visibility and society. This research deliberately takes this 300 year period as a block, to chart better urban fluctuations. Concentrating on one century will divide the results – especially since, as highlighted above, towns were evolving and non-static entities. Also, this study period spans historical phases, and so importantly offers a dialogue between Roman and Anglo-Saxon archaeology – too often seen as separate disciplines / study zones.

A reflection of the complexity can be seen in the wide ranging labels assigned to this period in the past: is there a period of 'sub-Roman' society? Or should classic phrases based on a reliance of fragmentary and obscure textual references like 'Dark Ages', 'Brittonic Age' (Snyder 1996, 1998; White 2007), or 'Age of Arthur' (Morris 1973) be used? These contrast with 'Late Antiquity' (Alcock 1971; Dark 2000; Harris 2003) that implies a longer link to

Rome, whereas 'post-Roman' suggests a clear break. All the labels are important indicators on how archaeologists and historians have viewed this period.

The problems of labels are a result of the regionalised nature of 5th- to 6th-century Britain. For example in Eastern England there may arguably have been a much shorter, or even no 'sub-Roman' phase; whereas in Western Britain a sub-Roman phase may have continued for much longer. It is possible that these phases need to be further refined throughout the course of the book, although we will avoid seeking to over complicate matters. All periods will need some definition, but the period from AD 400 – 600 especially is difficult simply because of the wide range of regional diversities.

Study Zones

This research explicitly avoids discussion and generalisation based on one or a few sites. It instead draws on a representative and more reliable set of sites gathered in distinct geographical zones in Britain. These sites and zones will provide a coherent cross-section of site types and evidence forms.

The research is organised around three case study zones: the South-East, South-West, and Midlands (Figure 1). These areas are broadly defined, and some towns could sit easily in more than one regional zone (such as Silchester or Winchester). The divide is used to break up the case studies into three geographical blocks, within each three differing urbanisms are presented. Three separate case studies (each a major Roman town) are chosen to illustrate the differing urban archaeologies and fortunes. Each case study is either a *civitas* capital or other major Roman town:

- South-East: London, Canterbury, Colchester
- South-West: Winchester, Cirencester, Silchester
- Midlands: Leicester, Lincoln, Wroxeter

Close investigation is limited to just three case studies within each area to allow full and detailed analysis of the evidence; crucial given the discrete and complex nature of the surviving archaeology. The selected sites naturally have different archaeologies – and different archaeological strengths – to draw upon. Some show evidence of continuity of a changing 'Roman' town life into the 5th century (Silchester, Wroxeter), others of a shifting settlement (Cirencester, Lincoln, London), and others of new forms of settlement (Canterbury, Leicester, Colchester, Winchester). Of course towns did not operate in isolation during the Roman period, being a central element of the state and the economy, linked into the surrounding area or 'hinterland'. The towns will therefore be framed into their wider regional backgrounds with discussion of the regional themes and trends. Data from other towns will be utilised where relevant, valid, or useful in Chapters 6 and 7.

A review of the archaeological background and research potential of each case study, and analysis of each town's place and role throughout the Late Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods will be covered in the case study chapters in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. The data for each case study town are presented more fully in Appendix 1. It is broken into late Roman (c.AD 300 - 410), and early Anglo-Saxon (c.AD 410 – 600), broadly as a result of the very different types of archaeological evidence seen. Full references to each site / find are provided.

Modelling and Plotting Life in Towns using GIS

Given the variance in each case study town an overarching policy of modelling and plotting the data cannot be employed. However, the data have been collected and analysed in the same way. Principally the data have been accessed through Historic Environment Records (HER), unpublished excavation reports, and wider published synthesis. The data are then catalogued using Microsoft Access 2007, recording the NGR location, followed by information that may be useful viewed spatially (e.g. dates for building usage, types of structures, finds locations). In some cases the data have been projected spatially using a Geographical Information System (GIS) through ArchGIS v10.

GIS is often used in modern urban morphology analysis (Moudon 1997), though the data from modern cities is far developed and plentiful than what is possible from the patchy archaeological data available on late Roman / sub-Roman urban contexts. Spatial analysis has also been undertaken on numerous post-medieval urban centres (Koster 1998: 7). GIS analysis is clearly a useful tool to aid interpretation of the historic urban environment, but there will inevitably be gaps in the data, so there should not be a complete reliance upon it.

The use of GIS within archaeological research is, arguably, still limited and usually focused on landscape studies, though the close analysis of data within single towns has been utilised in some aspects of urban archaeology. For example, it is used within existing Urban Archaeology Databases such as Lincoln, Leicester, and Canterbury, though the data are often crude and unrefined. Only through careful analysis can meaningful patterns be traced using these databases. Spatial analysis on the scale for this research, and within the specific period (AD 300 – 600), has not been attempted before, perhaps because of limited data, or means to analyse data in this way was not available until more recent years. Faulkner's (1998a) thesis research on room use within Roman buildings in towns is perhaps the closest related study, though his results are only projected in bar chart form, without any spatial consideration.

Of course there will be limits with any interpretation, since none of the urban centres have been completely excavated, and so the evidence will be projected and dictated from where excavations have taken place. However, it is important to note that the data employed also include finds locations recorded within the HERs, which are often from chance discoveries from the later 19th and 20th-centuries, often outside of modern excavated areas, but can still often substantially aid interpretation.

Chapter 2:

A Review of Debate on Romano-British Towns, AD 300 – 600

2.1 Introduction

Towns and cities were essential in the administration and functioning of the Roman Empire. Towns in the west reached their peak in c. AD 200, with the later 3rd century seeing striking political, social, and economic changes that led to changing urban needs and forms. Their perceived decline in the later Empire is intimately linked to wider studies into the 'decline and fall' of the Roman Empire, which has been debated for centuries. Perhaps the most famous work is Edward Gibbon's multi-volume The History of The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, composed in the late 18th-century. This was a major literary achievement that created a framework for subsequent scholars exploring both Roman and Byzantine history across the 19th and early 20th centuries. His detail on late Roman Britain and the fate of towns was very limited – just part of one chapter (XXXVIII) which contains 25 pages on the 'conquest of Britain by the Saxons'. Gibbon seems reluctant to discuss Britain, as the sequence of events is apparently well known: 'I might, without reproach, decline a story, familiar to the most illiterate, and obscure to the most learned, of my readers.' (Gibbon 1826: XXXVIII, 379). He states that in the early 5th century Britons continued to maintain towns: 'The cities which had been fortified with skill, were defended with resolution', in order to hang onto a Roman Britain that 'had become insensibly moulded into the elegant and revile form of a Roman province' (*ibid* XXXVIII: 386). The view he presents is one of a long, bloody battle between the Britons and the Saxons, so that even after 100 years 'the principal cities of the island country still opposed the arms of the Barbarians' (*ibid* XXXVIII: 388). Although, the Anglo-Saxon dominance was inevitable so that: 'The independent Britons appear to have relapsed into the state of original barbarism, from whence they had been imperfectly reclaimed' (*ibid* XXXVIII: 398). This was a landmark work, however, it was of course limited to entirely historical accounts, and the majority of the work ignored Roman/ post-Roman Britain.

It is not until the early 20th century that sufficient archaeological data had begun to become available for some debate on late Roman / early post-Roman urbanism to appear. Had towns and Roman life been 'extinguished' early on (Haverfield 1912; Wheeler 1935)? If so could it have been as early as Reece argues: 'the towns of Roman Britain had gone by 350' (Reece 1980: 77). Or were towns still 'social and economic organisms' (de al Bédoyère 1999: 75)? Was there perhaps a much later decline? 'During the first half of the 5th century the civilisation of Roman Britain was running down with increasing speed' (Frere 1988: 363). Alternatively things were far less clear-cut, with a survival of Roman society in a patchwork of differing regional patterns (Dark 2000: 228), some with decline, and others with continuity across the country.

The problems with defining and identifying the 'decline' of Roman towns or levels of continuity in Britain is a constant issue of debate. Certainly the meagre contemporary written evidence of the time (see Section 1.4) offers little help in clarifying urban change. It is only through archaeological excavation that we will learn more of the nature of life within these spaces. This chapter will review the key academic developments of the analyses of the decline and loss – or continuity – of towns from c. AD 300 – 600 and provide the context into which to frame my research.

2.2 Early Pioneers: Haverfield, Wheeler, and Collingwood

The start of archaeological excavations at a number of towns in the late 19th century began to further develop the traditional views of Gibbon. Francis Haverfield's *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (1912) was the first main publication that incorporated both historical sources and, crucially, results from then recent excavations at Silchester and Caerwent. His imperialist perspective was one of viewing Roman towns as the 'powerhouses of civilisation', that went part way to bringing the Celtic Brits into (Roman) civilisation. He argued for a swift decline of Roman town life, after all 'no golden age lasts long' (Haverfield 1912: 58). His view was one of a quick transition from Roman to Anglo-Saxon, with no Roman towns continuing:

> "…the English came, no longer to plunder but to settle, they occupied first the Romanized area of the island. As the Romano-Britons retired from the south and east, as Silchester was evacuated in despair and Bath and Wroxeter were stormed and left desolate, the very centres of Romanized life were extinguished. Not a single one remained an inhabited town"
>
> (Haverfield 1912:70).

Nearly all studies of the early 20th century were dominated by this view of a 'short chronology' (Freeman 2007) – one that viewed an early decline and failure of towns in the 4th century, and complete collapse of Roman society and economy certainly by AD 410.

Discussions on the role of towns throughout time were also a dominant theme in the inter-war years, with a strong emphasis on the role of the economy. Henri Pirenne's two key publications *Medieval Cities* (1969) and *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (Pirenne and Miall 1954) challenged the notion that Germanic barbarians had caused the Roman

Empire to end. He argued that this end should not equate to a disruption of the economy of the Roman Mediterranean on any major scale until much later; he argued that a Roman way of doing things did not fundamentally change in the time immediately after the 'fall' of Rome. While Pirenne did not deal with Roman Britain, his study is of most relevance to this research where he argues for a lack of urbanism in north-west Europe between the late Roman period and the later 9th and 10th centuries (1969: 56). Hodges and Whitehouse (1983) were the first to fully review the 'Pirenne thesis', in the light of vast archaeological data accumulated since Pirenne's time. They concluded that his views are generally in agreement with the archaeological evidence, so that Roman towns '... continued to be occupied until the 6th century...after the 4th century most of them experienced a dramatic change in their fortunes' (1983: 82), though beyond the 6th century 'the case for discontinuity of urban life is very strong indeed' (1983: 84).

Studies of Roman Britain in the 1930s were to dramatically change following new excavation methods, and important results of the Wheelers' excavations at Verulamium (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936). Their excavation report was the first of its kind to write a history of a town based on archaeological evidence (Niblett 2001: 18), since the 19th-century work at Silchester. The results appeared to indicate a short-lived period of growth at the beginning of the 4th century, followed by rapid decline by the middle of the century, so that by the turn of the 5th the town was in a state of 'virtual barbarism' (Niblett 2001:19). Interestingly, divisions between ethnic communities within different towns were suggested by the use of linear earthworks used in the 5th/6th centuries. While at London, Wheeler's approach was to take the results as a case for all towns within Britain, stating that Late Roman London was subject to a swift decline (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936).

These excavations and studies profoundly influenced many subsequent scholars (see Greep 1993), and were immediately influential on R.G. Collingwood. Collingwood expanded the work of Haverfield, but was more heavily influenced by finds from urban excavation that seemed to show a quick decline of Roman towns (Collingwood and Myres 1937). Rather than viewing towns and Romanisation as a glorious civilising past, Collingwood saw towns as centres of economy and the cultural elite, that was plunged into crisis and terminal decline early on in the 4th century. Collingwood's view of a 'short chronology', with Roman life running up to AD 350 was based almost entirely on historical data, and very little archaeological evidence: 'there is a singular dearth of archaeological evidence which might help us to understand the ultimate fate of Roman Britain' (1937: 330). A similar model was later developed by Ian Richmond (Richmond 1955; Collingwood and Richmond 1969), and became the standard interpretation for the next thirty years.

Also of major significance was the emergence of Anglo-Saxon archaeology in the early 20th century. The work of E.T. Leeds (1913, 1945, 1947) developed artefactual chronologies from cemetery evidence that had begun to be established by antiquarian scholars in the later 19th century (Dixon 1976: 23). Importantly archaeology added much to the debate by charting the types of structures we associate with Anglo-Saxon settlement – namely the 'sunken pit huts' (Leeds 1947). First identified at Sutton Courtenay in Berkshire, there is an on-going debate on the form and interpretation of these features (see section 7.5). Anglo-Saxon archaeology within Roman towns remained virtually unheard of, perhaps mainly because of the focus of excavations upon the more clearly defined archaeology of the earlier Roman and later medieval periods, and also because Anglo-Saxon settlements were easier to identify in rural contexts. Stenton's Anglo-Saxon England (first published 1943) summed up the then current state of knowledge by presenting a useful if traditional historical account from the 4th to the 11th centuries. He clearly demonstrated the major limitations in knowledge stating that 'no problem in the whole of Anglo-Saxon history are more difficult than those which relate to the origins of the English town' (Stenton 1943: 525). Myres' work with Collingwood, while also primarily historical in outlook, did have a greater emphasis on refining artefact chronologies (Collingwood and Myres 1937). His much later updated volume (Myres 1986) maintained a traditional approach stressing the difficulties of identifying sub-Roman populations: 'the sub-Romano-Britons of the fifth and sixth centuries appear to have enjoyed…a culture almost as completely devoid of durable possessions as any culture can be' (1986: 21). However, he does note the value of archaeological evidence is above that of historical sources: 'first-hand archaeological evidence, unlike most written sources of information about the past, is wholly free from the kinds of error that are so often sometimes misguided by subsequent copyists…' (1986: 29).

2.3 The Urban Archaeology of Frere, Wacher, and Biddle

The works of Haverfield, Collingwood, and Stenton were all of their time, but remain useful sources as broad narrative texts. Yet, a clear gap in academic research prevailed – one that viewed ancient Roman urbanism as fundamentally different and separate to that of medieval urbanism, with only the latter directly linked to modern urban centres (Brooks 1986: 77). The impression of an early end to town life persisted, simply due to a lack of evidence to contradict Collingwood's and Richmond's arguments. However, these scholars were working with a limited number of sites and data, something that was to profoundly change in the 1960s, where many historic towns and cities underwent large-scale urban redevelopment that led to many urban excavations.

In the 1960s and 1970s urban rescue archaeology was arguably at its peak with many excavations by John Wacher at numerous towns (Wacher 1974, 1995), Alan McWhirr's work at Cirencester (McWhirr 1976), and Martin Biddle's at Winchester (Biddle 1964, 1984). Each demonstrated differing types and levels of urban survival running into

the early post-Roman period. The Anglo-Scandinavian archaeology at York meanwhile was opening eyes to early medieval archaeology (Ottaway 1992, 2004). The early 'urban archaeologists' highlighted the importance of dealing with archaeological evidence of all periods, rather than just that of the more easily identifiable Roman or later medieval periods. They also illustrated the finite nature of the archaeological remains (Biddle *et al*. 1973). However, despite major progress, much destruction occurred unrecorded in towns (Carver 1993: 8).

Important work, led initially by S.S. Frere, re-interpreted Romano-British towns as vigorous centres of classical civilisation that lasted well beyond the early 5th century. His work was based on his own excavations at Verulamium (Frere, 1964, 1972, 1983, 1984). This turned the 'established view' of a short decline on its head, with evidence for townhouses continuing into the 5th century, with several phases of activity: 'life continued in our towns, often on quite a civilized level, well into the 5th century' (Frere 1966: 98). While Frere's work was also limited by the number of sites available for comparison, his work began the process of establishing archaeological methodologies in dealing with archaeological remains within towns, and followed similar discoveries of early post-Roman archaeology that was emerging. This highlighted the possibility of a longer period of Roman town life – a 'long chronology' perspective that developed throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

A major step forward in debate and knowledge came in a conference held at University of Leicester in 1963 (and later published monograph The *Civitas* Capitals of Roman Britain, ed. Wacher 1966) which raised some of the key issues and themes: namely the longevity of Roman structures; the longevity of coinage and appearance of coin hoards; dark earth soils – their form and interpretation; the nature of a Anglo-Saxon 'conquest' of Britain; the difficulties with dating pottery styles (both Late Roman and Anglo-Saxon); and the appearance of Anglo-Saxon buildings within towns. Many of these themes are still debated today, but now with the benefit of substantially more data.

Despite this increased awareness, there was clearly still a division between the archaeologies of Romans and Anglo-Saxons. With some of the major single-author thematic or chronological texts of the 1960s and 1970s often simply tagging the 5th / 6th centuries into the final chapter of Roman volumes (Frere 1967) or the first chapter of Anglo-Saxon texts (Campbell *et al*. 1982; Morris 1973), others produced work that went through the traditional time periods tracing more clearly the subtle changes, notably A.H.M. Jones' two volumes The Later Roman Empire (1964) who traced the changes both in narrative chronological form and thematically. However, like much wide-ranging texts of this type it lacked specific detail on Britain.

This period saw some advance in Anglo-Saxon archaeology, notably a monograph entitled The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England (Wilson 1976), that included many vital papers, notably Martin Biddle's 'Towns' (Biddle 1976b). Enough archaeological work had been undertaken to allow Biddle to produce a comprehensive (at the time) assessment of towns from the 4th to 8th centuries and beyond. It is a hugely influential article in which he sees 4th-century towns as very different places to those earlier in the empire, stating that they had taken on a military persona. Despite this change, he argued that towns survived as focal points into the early post-Roman period (*ibid*: 105). Most important for Biddle was labelling what constitutes a 'town', arguing that it required two or more of twelve key aspects to be called an urban settlement (*ibid*: 101). Crucially he argued for an uninterrupted period of continuity through the end of the Roman and into the Anglo-Saxon period, using the evidence for 5th century continuity found at Winchester, London, and Exeter. While his argument perhaps focuses too greatly on requirements to be labelled a 'town', the article certainly highlighted important areas of research, which the archaeologists of the 1980s took on board and developed.

2.4 Divergent Views and Romanisation

A move away from the newly established view was led by Reece, who provoked much debate by maintaining that decline started in the second quarter of the third century (Reece 1980: 77, 1992: 143) – thus far earlier than the established scholars views of Wacher or Frere, who still viewed decline as no earlier than AD 450 (Wacher 1995; Frere 1987). Brooks (1986) also saw a short survival of Roman towns, highlighting the lack of overlapping use of buildings between Roman and post-Roman phases. Reece, though, was particularly dismissive of late and post-Roman towns while at the same time incautiously downplaying any notion of enduring value on the part of the earlier classical town. The concept that towns were simply part of Romanisation which was quickly rejected by the population of Britain was a principal concern of his. He argued that towns never really took off in Britain: 'the Roman Empire had been a passing fancy in the real development of Britain, and towns were one of the sorts of beads that the natives first considered and then rejected' (1992: 143). He strongly argued that something gave way in the 3rd century, so that what followed in the 4th century was vastly different from what had occurred in the 2nd century, towns becoming 'administrative villages'. The concept of Romanisation, and the role of towns as simply one of changing fashions has been fully explored by Martin Millett (1990), and again recently by Mattingly (2006). Jones (1998) also illustrated that the end of Roman rule in Britain came about not just as a result of the external problems in the Empire, but rather the problem was the inherent disinterest of the British to accept and become 'Romanised' (*ibid*: 255).

The later 1970s and 1980s saw the rapid increase in data from both rescue (government) and developer-funded projects that enhanced the profile of urban studies from the 4th to 8th centuries. The large-scale excavation

projects highlighted the complex and regionalised patterns of town evolution and change, moving away from the more simplistic patterns of either continuity or failure of urbanism proposed by earlier scholars. Casey (1979) produced a significant collection of conference papers focusing on the end of Roman Britain. However, the evidence presented did not point to a clearly defined 'answer' to what urban life was like in the early post-Roman period, rather the evidence created further polarising viewpoints. One of the key publications of the 1980s came out of a Council for British Archaeology (CBA) conference in 1986 entitled The Rebirth of Towns in the West (Hodges and Hobley 1988). This broadened the debate by bringing in archaeological evidence from several major European towns, presenting a more intricate depiction of the decline and then rebirth of urbanism. The new models subsequently presented showed a slowly progressive late Roman urban decline (Esmonde Cleary 1989; Russo 1998), and eventual early medieval 'rebirth' centred around the economic renewals of the town.

Following the huge advances in archaeological excavation and recording methods (but usually with very slow publication) the volume of data that had come from the excavations of the 1970s and 1980s allowed scholars of the 1990s to assess and debate late/post-Roman urbanism in a more developed manner. Indeed, the spectrum of debate widened, with a further break-up in consensus of what was actually happening in towns in the late and post-Roman periods.

Esmonde Cleary's work presented a modified view of 4th-century decline by attempting to explain decline and change in Romano-British towns with clear links to administrative and military changes in the late Empire (1989). He argued that decline in the 4th century was 'nasty, brutish and short' (1989: 161), and that the 5th century saw massive discontinuity. He sees no kind of 'urban' life continuing into the 5th century, preferring to interpret the later phases as agricultural estate centres. Higham concurred, stating: 'It would be a mistake... to argue for any survival of urban life...in sub-Roman Britain' (1992: 216). Arnold, saw a slow urban decline and preference for more rural living from the later 4th century (1984: 47). Conversely, Salway viewed some decline from about AD 350, what remained was a modified urbanism, the work of the state, rather than a local gentry. He claimed that a form of urban life continued into the 5th century, with Verulamium as a type set (1993: 262-266).

In general, scholars tended to move away from the importance of the economic role of towns, and more emphasis placed upon human elements and influence (see papers in Brogiolo *et al*. 2000; Christie and Loseby 1996; Lavan 2001; Lavan and Bowden 2003; Rich 1992; Rich and Wallace-Hadrill 1991). The issue of what can be termed a 'town' was thrown into doubt with Roskams arguing that urban definitions are of no meaningful value, emphasising that towns are a natural and human environment, and that the importance of economics should be reduced (Roskams 1996: 264). Carver further emphasised the human or individual factor in influencing the altering townscapes during the 5th and 6th centuries, arguing that there was not continuity or discontinuity, but rather a changing use of urban space being made by individuals rather than the state (1993). Dixon also emphasised how more needs to be discussed in social terms rather than economic, as these factors may help us to fully understand the 'transition' (1992: 146). Isaac's research (on the Eastern Empire) also emphasised the importance of local factors: 'Town development was effectively dependent upon local conditions and the initiatives of regional officials' (Isaac 1992: 269). Christie (2000) emphasised the importance of tracing a town's evolving role within their regional setting. Clearly then, the importance of placing these urban spaces into a regional context by assessing the hinterlands, became a critical area of research (the Wroxeter Hinterland Project provides the most successful example of this – see Gaffney *et al*. 2007). See also papers in Bowden *et al*. 2004 for wider 'countryside' views.

Cameron (1993a; 1993b) took a more historical and European perspective (as did Liebeschuetz 1992; 2001), and demonstrated that (broadly) urban centres contracted into well-fortified urban cores, there was private encroachment into public spaces (amphitheatres, circuses, theatres, streets, fora), and there was a sub-division of large townhouses into smaller, poorer dwellings (Cameron 1993a: 150). Perring (1991) attempted to examine this changing use of space within Roman towns. He argued that in the late Roman period the municipal nobility were increasingly attempting to control public activities and restrict general access to certain areas of the town. There is a major shift to a focus towards private housing and the introduction of defensive circuits: '…later Roman towns were most definitely not static structures but were subject to significant change' (*ibid*: 50). PhD research by Roger Kipling (2000) drew on this to skilfully compare the changing forms of towns across Britain and Gaul, along with areas outside of the Empire. His work brought out useful themes of urban transformations that have influenced my research.

2.5 Polarised Visions: Dark and Faulkner

In 2000 two books were published covering the fate of towns in the 5th and 6th centuries AD with views polarised: Neil Faulkner's The Decline and Fall of Roman Britain on the side of early decline and failure, and Ken Dark's Britain and the End of the Roman Empire with the view of a continued Roman society well into the 5th and 6th centuries. Faulkner and Dark are still two of the major players in the debate, and sit aggressively at opposite ends of the 'continuity debate' spectrum. It is worthwhile here giving a more thorough review of the key arguments put forward by these two scholars, as they both illustrate well the issues and debates affecting studies of this period, and are of direct relevance to this research.

Faulkner's main arguments were developed from his 1998 thesis for University College London, the results of which

subsequently presented in numerous journal articles (*ibid* 1994, 1996, 2004), and in the aforementioned published book in 2000. It has since been updated in a second edition in 2004, with a short additional chapter covering the 5th century. His research is an attempt to write an account of the decline and fall of Roman Britain from the point of view that the Roman Empire (and any sort of ruling class) was a bad thing for the average Brit; his dislike for authority prevails throughout the text and his viewpoint (echoing much of Reece's earlier work in 1980) is very much a radical interpretation of late Roman Britain. The late Roman state in Faulkner's view developed into a 'bureaucratic, paramilitary, totalitarian authority' (Faulkner 2004: 9). He argues that the Late Roman period (c.AD 225/50 to 375/425) sees towns declining from an early 3rd century peak. Romanised settlement pattern and material culture had collapsed to almost nothing by the late 4th and early 5th century, so that 50 to 100 years after c. AD. 375 'is an almost complete collapse not only of Romano-British class society, but of any sort of class society at all.' (*ibid*: 10).

While it is clearly vital to approach the Roman period without rose-tinted spectacles of a civilising empire, Faulkner unfortunately takes this to an extreme to the detriment of his argument by approaching the study with preconceived ideas and opinions that seem to ignore or gloss over key archaeological evidence. A key point in his argument is the lack of archaeological evidence from AD 375 to AD 475. He claims that this material culture gap should be taken at face value: 'There was no ruling class, just British peasantry, the archaeological evidence implies this, and the historical evidence supports this' (2004: 86). This is a quite shocking use of being blind to the evidence, as other scholars have highlighted a possible (or likely) archaeological 'invisibility' (Brooks 1986, 1988). Faulkner's second edition even comments on the criticism received on his work that even he agrees '…has not, of course, found universal favour – or, indeed, much favour at all' (Faulkner 2004: 10). The final chapter in the second edition covering the 5th and 6th centuries has probably been written as a response to Dark's (and others) publications that have come out since 2000. Towns are his main focus here, as he simply argues that towns did not exist from the 4th to the 7th centuries**.** The arguments stem from his thesis research assessing the room use of Roman buildings; while this approach is useful, the problems dating the latest use of buildings is a problematic task (see Section 1.4 for a discussion on dating archaeological deposits), which he ignores. His data are also now majorly outdated, but remain an important resource.

Ken Dark first entered the post-Roman continuity debate in 1994 with his book *Civitas to Kingdom. British Political Continuity AD 300-800*. The title is slightly misleading, in that he only argues for political continuity in the South-West of Britain. Therefore, it seemed like a logical step to develop the argument in his follow-up book Britain and the End of the Roman Empire published in 2000, in which he made the argument for continuity across the entire island (though especially in the South-West). He argues that Britain was a model of Late Antique Romanitas: '… it was the only part of the west in which the descendants of Roman citizens lived under their own rule, with their own Romano-Christian culture and in recognisably Late Roman political units, into the 6th century' (Dark 2000: 230).

Dark maintains his strongest argument for a form of Roman life and society continuing in Britain in the West and South-West of the country, returning to earlier arguments in *Civitas* to Kingdom (1994), highlighting substantial urban survival as a 'sort of focal role for the surrounding area' (2000: 109). Christian evidence (churches, monasteries, burials) is seen in or close to all urban centres across the region, along with a survival of Romano-British burial customs. He argues for evidence of trade with the continent at elite sites (evidenced by African Red Slip and jewellery), and stresses that such artefacts may have remained in circulation for hundreds of years. Dark takes his argument to the extreme when dealing with the South-West of Britain by claiming that: 'This part of Britain actually became more 'Roman' after the formal Roman withdrawal than previously' (*ibid*: 150). He uses only a few examples in differing tribal areas of the region (Dumnonia, Gwynedd, Dyfed) to promote his argument – for example, Tintagel is used heavily to demonstrate an 'urban' form of settlement and long-distance trade networks. He argues for the adoption of Christianity and links to Byzantium, based on church names, inscribed stones, and a site that may be similar to Tintagel but has actually barely been excavated (Gateholm) – hardly conclusive evidence! He does, however, usefully identify emerging ruling elites in the region reusing Iron Age hill forts and Roman artefacts to 'confirm legitimate position of power' (*ibid*: 163).

His arguments are most stretched when assessing the eastern and northern areas of Britain. For eastern Britain he uses burial evidence to compare areas of Anglo-Saxon (cremation) and British (inhumation) occupation, and argues for the possibility of a Christian population in eastern Britain, though the evidence is sparse with paganism seemingly much more common. He notes the presence of regionalised pottery production and localised trading within 'Germanic' areas, for example the granite-tempered pottery in the Lincolnshire area (Dark 2000: 143). The area of 'North Britain' (everywhere from the Midlands to Hadrian's Wall) is given little attention, though the argument is made again for the emergence of a Romano-Christian culture which spread up and into the Scottish lowlands in the 5th century. Again, as is similar to the South-West examples, local elites emerge by the mid 6th century, some re-using hill-forts (*ibid*: 193).

While some elements of Dark's arguments lack precise evidence, he does bring out important themes, stressing that there was no clear east-west divide, more a patchwork of Christian and Pagan communities. Urbanism continued but in an altered fashion (to what had gone before), and

in the west, Romano-Christian administration and culture flourished as with the rest of the Late Antique world with a shared culture continuing aspects of Roman art and architecture. The emergence of kingdoms by the 7th century, however, saw cultural changes that were much changed from the earlier Roman past (see, for example, papers in Bassett 1989).

Both Dark and Faulkner are clearly very opinionated and 'set-in-their-way', meaning little or no middle ground can be sought between the two in terms of their arguments. It is their extreme views that expose shortcomings in their respective arguments. For example, the strong political viewpoints where Faulkner argues that Dark's views are an extreme form of diffusionism, which may be true to some extent. However, Faulkner is imbedded in a strong political anti-authority view. Perhaps there is simply a desire to be controversial, which leads to a selective use of the evidence. Dark is really concerned only with the elite, while Faulkner can seemingly not explain clear examples of Roman style buildings into the 5th and 6th centuries. These contrasting views using apparently the same data do demonstrate the difficulties in interpreting what the situation was like in the late Roman and early post-Roman period. In terms of towns, while Faulkner states that: 'The decline of the towns…represents the passing of an entire political order that depended on them' (Faulkner 2004: 6), and that there were absolutely no towns by the late 4th century, Dark interprets the same information as evidence for continued (if reduced) life in towns, especially so in South-West England (Dark 2000: 105).

2.6 New Century: New Viewpoints?

The 21st century has seen a new breed of academic scholars emerge, all highly influenced by the earlier studies outlined above. Dark has perhaps been more influential in recent years, as there has been an increasing trend towards an emphasis not only on continuity but also on the idea that there was a growth of Romano-Christian culture in the 5th and 6th centuries in Britain. The idea of a 'Late Antiquity' in Europe is long-standing (since Alcock developed it from Classical Antiquity (1971), but only fairly recently has it been applied to Britain. Supporters of a Late Antiquity point to a successful and growing 4th century (de la Bedoyère 1999); others stress the continuation and developing Romano-Christian society (especially in the South-West and West of Britain) into the post-Roman period (see Snyder 1998 and Harris 2003).

Some scholars have rejected general explanations, and insist that trajectories of 4th-century urban development varied on a site by site basis: '…we cannot draw any kind of general conclusions. Instead it seems likely that local circumstances were far more influential and the fate of each town was dictated by them' (de la Bedoyère 1992: 76-8; 129). As Faulkner rightly states, the 'history of every town is peculiar to itself and part of a greater whole' (1998: 23). White's account of *Britannia Prima: Britain's Last Roman Province* (2007) offers a more engaging and comprehensive analysis and discussion of western Britain than Dark's study. It shows that the Late Roman province of 'Britannia Prima' (largely South-West England and Wales) continued to maintain its own clear cultural identity, separate to the other British provinces. The crucial benefit of this work is how it highlights a distinctive regional culture, different to the Anglo-Saxons to the east, and Irish influence to the west. This 'Britto-Roman' culture helped maintain some form of 'urban' life, a new 'Roman' style of life in the countryside, and a strong development of Christianity through the 5th and 6th centuries AD.

White skilfully states that towns are social structures, and not essential to human societies, and clearly differing parts of the Roman Empire were on differing trajectories (for example he dismisses recent general studies by Ward-Perkins (2005) as over simplistic). He argues that the evidence points to continued town life into the 5th century, and that the work of Faulkner (2000) in particular is too pessimistic. Certainly there were primary changes, such as the inability to maintain building supplies and resources, and so buildings and townscapes begun to look different, with an increase in wood and recycled materials. He brings out the evidence in all of the major towns, understandably dealing in most detail with Wroxeter (given the quality of the evidence there and his own background, having been its director of excavations). The evidence at Chester is usefully reviewed, stating the difficulties with small-scale and badly published excavations. Other towns are slightly neglected with only short discussions of Cirencester, Gloucester, Bath, and Dorchester, despite interesting and differing types of urbanism in each.

Another study emphasising the importance of regional differences within Britain has been Laycock (in *Britannia: The Failed State,* 2008). His view comes from the perspective of Faulkner – that Britain was simply a state controlled by a foreign power (he compares it to modern conflicts in the Balkans and the Middle East). He argues that local tribal areas continued to remain culturally distinctive throughout the Roman period, fully re-emerging towards the late 4th and early 5th centuries. This is evidenced through analysis of British buckles and the differing regional styles. This view is nothing new, but does raise an important issue, highlighting that there may have been a continuation of old tribal rivalries throughout the Roman period, followed by a fragmentation and ethnic strife in the 5th and 6th centuries.

More traditional views persist in current debate, and two scholars' recent major publications on general histories charting the decline and fall of the Roman Empire – Ward-Perkins' *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (2005) and Heather's *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Roman and the Barbarians* (2006) and his 'sequel' *Empires and Barbarians* (2009) – offer more traditional yet vastly contrasting viewpoints. Published closely together, and by scholars at the same university, the former is a lively short text that attempts to take a more archaeological approach, while the latter is a more

substantial historical work. Both see the effects of Rome's fall across the Empire; Heather details the reasons for this fall, while Ward-Perkins looks at the effects after the 'end of civilisation'. Both stress the violent crises of the 5th century, dismissing supporters of a Late Antiquity and recent studies by Goffart among others, who downplays the notion of a major change, describing the fall of the Western Empire as 'an imaginative experiment that got a little out of hand' (Goffart 1980; 2006, cited by Ward-Perkins 2005: 80).

Sadly, there is quite often a failing by established scholars to fully utilise newer excavation results from grey-literature sources (e.g. Wacher, Mattingly, Esmonde Cleary, Faulkner). There are exceptions (notably White, Jones, Dark, and Ottaway), however, but more need to follow suit if chronologies and debates are to move forward properly.

2.7 The Future

There is evidently a wealth of discussion and debate on the fate of Roman towns stretching back to Gildas in the 6th century, through to the vast array of recent archaeological data and debates. The most recent studies have demonstrated a far more fragmentary and regionalised 5th and 6th century, and debates are now moving far beyond the more simplified arguments of the past.

Finally, in recent years various PhD thesis have covered similar areas of research to this book, but often with a more regional focus: Chilterns and Essex Region (Baker 2011; 2006; Morris 2005), Lincoln region (Green 2011), Hadrian's Wall (Burley 2010, Collins 2011), Leicestershire (Hawkes 2007). Other postgraduates are researching Roman urbanisms in other regions, or looking at differing aspects of society in the late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods; of particular relevance here is that recently undertaken by Adam Rogers (2008), whose thesis has since been published (Rogers 2011). He offers a fresh, valuable theoretical approach to late Roman towns. Other studies are often presented at the Early Medieval Archaeology Student Symposium (EMASS), launched in 2007. This allows PhD scholars to present their research in an informal setting, and over the past five years has usefully showcased the wide-ranging perspectives and studies, some of which cover the period of this research (http://www.emass.org.uk). In 2008 a conference co-organised by the author, brought together PhD students and young researchers from across Europe to discuss urban change from AD 300 – 700 (published as Sami and Speed 2010). This highlighted the wide ranging and fresh approaches currently being undertaken, and offers good alternative studies for comparison in neighbouring Roman provinces.

Clearly, there is still scope for further research, with new archaeological evidence from urban centres ever increasing, and more refined methods of analysis available. The following chapters look in detail at this evidence in nine case study towns over three regions in England.

Chapter 3:

Urban Sequences in the South-East

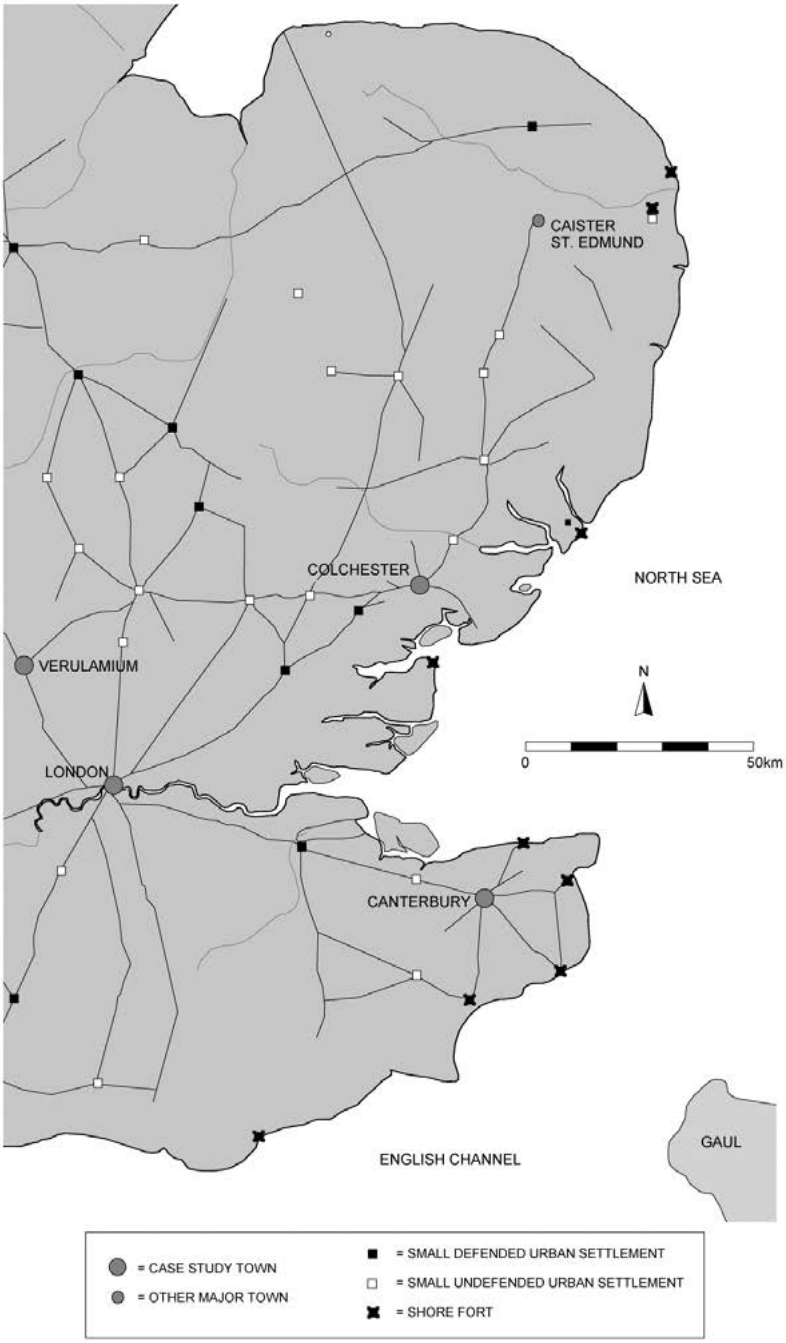


FIGURE 2: ROMAN TOWNS IN SOUTH-EAST BRITAIN (DRAWN BY AUTHOR)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the material and structural transformations of the major Roman towns in South-East England from c. AD 300 - c. 600. This geographical area is broadly defined as the modern regions of Essex, the eastern Thames valley, and Kent and was a region in good contact with the Roman world pre-conquest (Cunliffe 2005: 107; Haselgrove 1987: 193). It saw the rapid development of a Roman urban and road network, core to which was London (despite Colchester's early pre-eminence), linked to a (relatively for Britain) dense zone of major towns, consisting of: Canterbury, Verulamium, and Colchester (Figure 2). Potentially, therefore, the population here had

the longest – and most ingrained – Roman urban lifestyles. Yet the close proximity to the continent also meant that this region was most susceptible to the earliest raids and contact with influence from and, later, settlement by (new) 'Anglo-Saxon' populations from the later 4th century (Dark 2000: 48) and, more fully, from the mid-5th century (Esmonde Cleary 1989: 163).

These towns have had varying amounts of archaeological investigations and research, meaning a fragmented and incomplete picture. London has a long history of major excavations throughout the 20th century including the recent and ongoing developer-funded excavations led mainly by Museum of London Archaeology (MoLA). Colchester saw a peak of investigations in the 1970s and 1980s, but only minor archaeological investigations since (most conducted by Colchester Archaeological Trust). Canterbury has had intermittent investigations, the largest being in the 1950s and 1960s (Frere 1984), and in the early 21st century at Whitefriars (Hicks and Houliston 2001).

Other major towns in South-East England include Verulamium and Caistor-by-Norwich. The former has seen its fair share of famous archaeologists from the past (Collingwood and Myres 1937: 206; Wheeler and Wheeler 1936; Frere 1964), and interpretations of its archaeological evidence continues to be controversial (Neal 2003; Faulkner and Neal 2009; Frere 2011). Yet the data are well published and extensively studied (Niblett 2001). Caistor-by-Norwich saw excavations in the early 20th century (Frere 1971), and is now subject to an ambitious new fieldwork and landscape project (Caistor Roman Project) led by University of Nottingham (http://www.south-norfolk.gov.uk/venta). Initial results include a hugely successful geophysical survey (Bescoby *et al*. 2009; Bowden and Bescoby 2008), and currently four seasons of excavations within and outside the town walls. Results include much late Roman activity in the 2009-2011 seasons (Bowden 2010, 2011), and an Anglo-Saxon SFB in the 2012 season (Bescoby and Bowden 2013). These are tantalising results, but the on-going nature of the project limits any detailed assessment of this town at present. Therefore, rather than utilising these towns as case studies, the evidence from these comes into wider discussions in Chapters 6 and 7. The smaller towns and settlements in the region have seen comparatively few investigations, mostly on a limited scale (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 76, 183, 192, 281, 289, 306).

Each of the three major towns (and their hinterlands) in the region will be explored below in turn, observing the varied structures and material guides of change across the study period. We will see how each shows similarities in archaeological evidence in the 4th century, in terms of development and then contraction. However, each shows differing trajectories from the 5th century onwards, two with evidence for continued (but reduced) settlement (Canterbury, Colchester), and one of a failed and shifted settlement (London).

3.2 London

Roman London (Londinium) lay on the north side of the river Thames, roughly divided in two by the Walbrook stream, with the River Fleet to the west. The geology mainly consists of brickearth, with gravel terraces and alluvium close to the waterfront and rivers (Williams 1993: 3).

The Archaeological Resource

As the nation's capital city, London's past has long seen archaeological finds, scrutiny and investigation, with many antiquarian interventions (summarized in Besant 1908) and excavations in the early 20th century being intermittent and often focused on the town defences (Milne 1995: 20). Following the Second World War, Professor Grimes oversaw numerous rescue excavations from 1946-68 (*ibid*: 22), creating a wealth of discoveries on London's Roman and medieval past, but also creating a massive back-log of unpublished data. From 1973-91 the Department of Urban Archaeology (DUA) undertook all the excavations within the city; in 1991 the DUA amalgamated with various smaller regional groups in Greater London to form Museum of London Archaeology Service (renamed MoLA in 2009). Much of the earlier work was published in the 1980s and 1990s (Watson 1998b: 214) and significant excavations relevant to this study include the forum (Philp 1977), town defences (Maloney 1985) and riverside wall (Blagg 1985); the amphitheatre (Bateman *et al*. 2009); a late Roman building on Tower Hill (Sankey 1998); and the port (Brigham 1998; 1990a). There have been few large-scale excavations of private Roman buildings; most evidence is limited to partial ground-plans (Perring 1991). Most recent work is undertaken and published by MoLA (see Blair and Sankey 2007; Brigham *et al*. 2006; Elsden 2002; Rowsome 2000) or summarized in the Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society. The main synthetic publications (now 15-20 years old) are those of Perring (1991) and Milne (1995); newer interpretations and discussions in Watson (1998), and Clark and Sheldon (2008). Evidence for Anglo-Saxon London only started to come to light in the 1980s (Vince 1984; 1990), and excavations in more recent years have started to fill in new important information on Lundenwic's origins and extent (Telfer 2008; 2010).

Origins and Development

The earliest Roman settlement at the Thames crossing with Southwark belongs to c. AD 50 (Perring 1991: 6) – the area of the later forum, s*et al*ong an east-west road on either side of the Walbrook (Perring and Roskams 1991: 119). London became the provincial capital of Britannia in the AD 70s, and up to the mid-2nd century the town saw much growth (and development) (Perring 1991: 77). From AD 150-200 it saw contraction (*ibid*: 78), but it remained capital of Britannia Superior when the province was divided in two in c. AD 200. Peculiarly, few new buildings were added, and a build-up of dark earth soil is already recognised within areas of the town

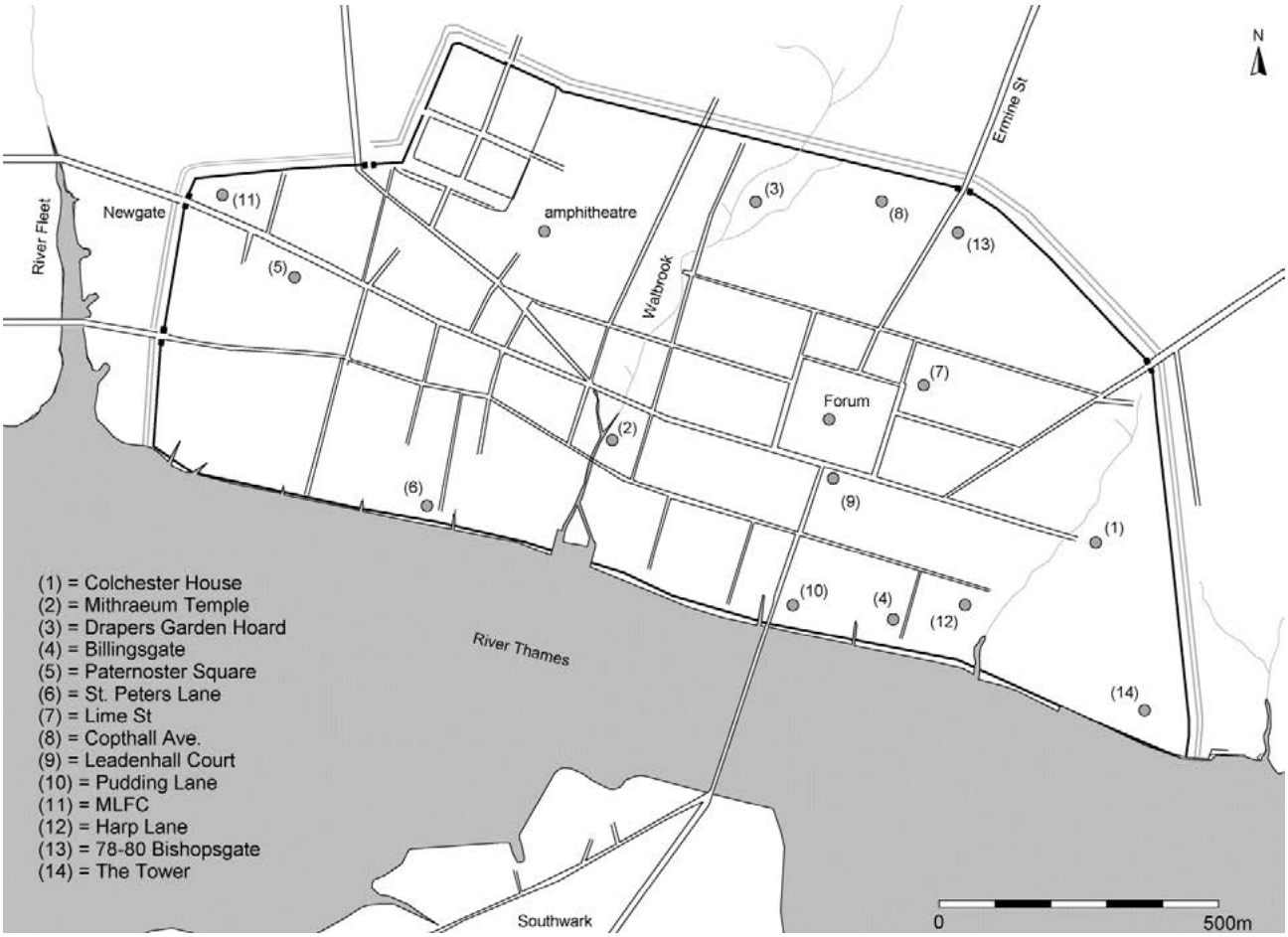


Figure 3: Location of the key excavations in London (drawn by author, updated from Watson 1998a: fig.3)

(e.g. Milk St – Watson 1998a: 100). Perring paints a gloomy picture: 'sooner or later most of Roman London was buried beneath layers of dark earth' (1991: 78).

Although the public baths were abandoned and then demolished, overall the 3rd century saw renewed growth. Between AD 195-225 (Lyon 2007), town defences (3km in length) were constructed, a financially substantial and labour–intensive project; a temple complex was set up in the south-west area of the town; and there was construction of a monumental arch, as well as many townhouses (Perring 1991: 92). The port was flourishing between AD 50-270, with 50m of land recovered from the river (Brigham 1998: 33) – this due in part to a substantial and progressive fall in the river level. But by the second half of the 3rd century fewer quays were operating and river silts and erosion indicate that the tides no longer took vessels up to London (Perring 1991:108). Between AD 255-70 the riverside defensive wall was constructed. Political reforms at the end of the 3rd century saw London become capital of the province of Maxima Caesariensis (Perring 1991: 124). Strikingly, a major building of 150 x 100 m was constructed on Peter's Hill, believed to be part of a temple complex or palace, perhaps for Allectus (Governor of Britain and usurper AD 293-6); it is dated by dendochronology to AD 293-4 (Milne 1995: 75).

The 4th Century

In the early 4th century London remained an important political centre – *Londinium* was perhaps renamed *Augusta*, a sign of imperial favour (Merrifield 1983: 205), though Tomlin (2006: 59) observes how it is actually listed as '*Londinium Augusta*' in the Ravenna Cosmography. The *Notitia Dignitatum* records London as housing the imperial treasury, and as the seat of the diocese of Britain (Milne 1995: 18), and bishop (Esmonde Cleary 1989: 47). And yet, archaeologically, the extent and character of the remaining late Roman town are much more contentious. There are many wide-ranging views: Watson (1998: 100) states that 'Large areas of the walled town were either abandoned or sparsely occupied', and late Roman London compares to: '... modern English market towns, in which new supermarkets and derelict buildings can be found in close proximity' (*ibid*: 102). Milne argues that 'the settlements on both banks of the river contracted substantially in the third and fourth centuries…talk of a collapse or of impoverishment seems unjustified…'; it was not a bustling port or centre of industry but it had administration and tax collection duties, and space for a market (1995: 88). Below we explore the archaeological evidence for London's changing urban form in the 4th century.

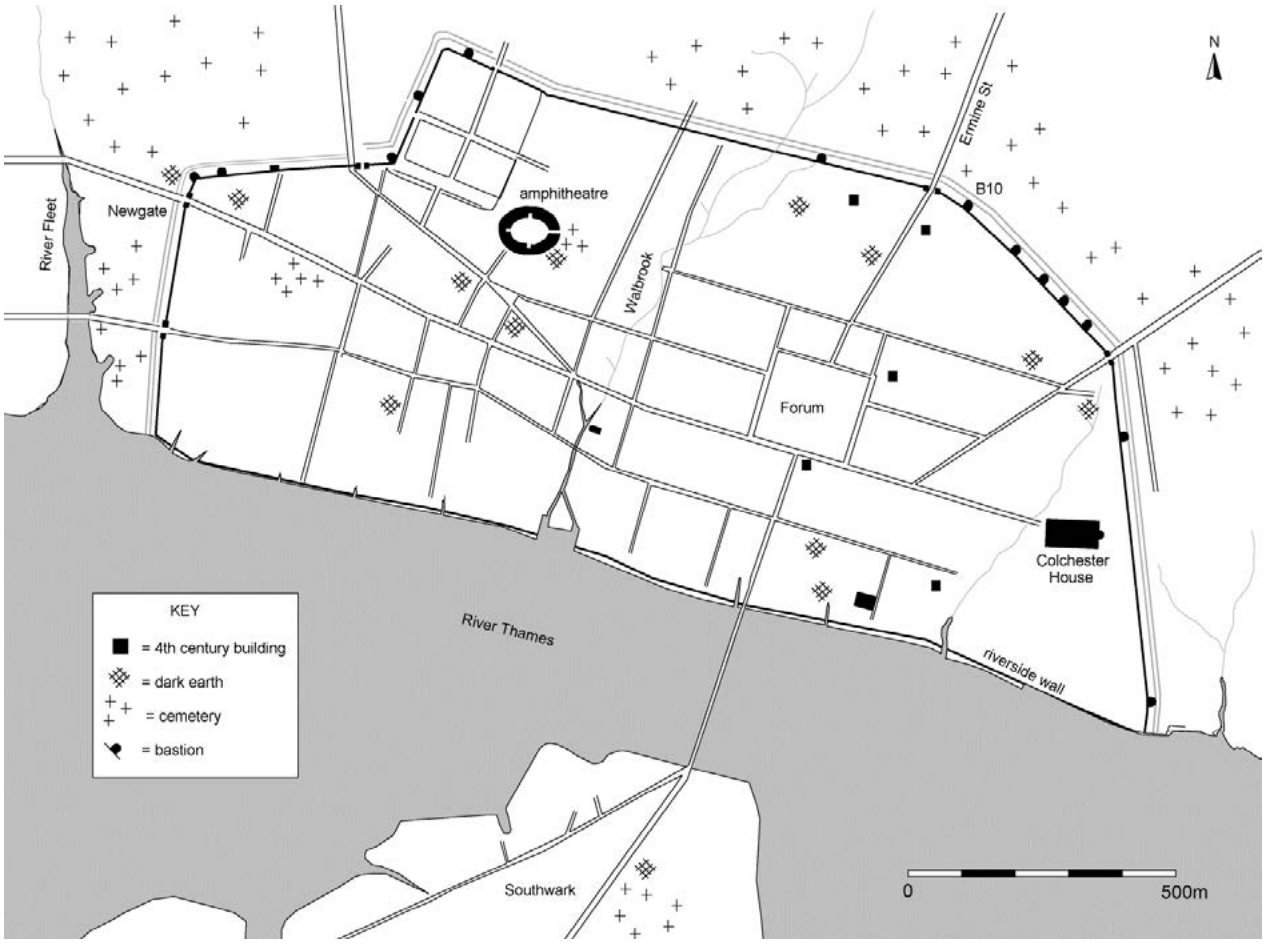


FIGURE 4: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FROM 4TH-CENTURY LONDON
(DRAWN BY AUTHOR, UPDATED FROM PERRING 1991; WACHER 1995; WATSON 1998A: 3)

Town Defences

London's defences reflect its political, economic as well as strategic role. These were extensive stone and brick constructs (many parts still upstanding today, see Harris 2009 and Figure 5), which came to be extensively modified in the 4th century with the addition of a riverside wall, external bastions on the landward wall, altered gates, a remodelled defensive ditch, and later an extended riverside wall (Perring 1991: 124). The riverside wall features much re-used building material, deriving probably from demolitions of a high number of public and private buildings (Sheldon and Tyers 1994: 355; Williams 1993: 89-91), including part of the *forum* (Brigham 1990b: 21), and a temple. Construction of the riverside wall appears piecemeal and drawn out (Milne 1995: 85). Its erection surely had a very negative effect on the port and riverside trade, although this appears to have been already substantially in decline by *c*.AD 300. A section of the riverside wall was rebuilt (close to Tower of London) in the late 4th century, and in AD 388-402 a salient was added to the north-east corner at the Tower (Perring 1991: 125), perhaps creating a citadel. Chip-carved buckles, an ornament popular with the Late Roman military, have been found there (Perring 1991: 127). A silver ingot and two gold coins of Honorius and Arcadius (AD 388-402) found at the Tower of London suggest to Perring renewed construction work associated with the campaigns of Stilicho (1991: 127).

Intriguingly, Roman London has more external bastions (usually interpreted as artillery platforms – see Johnson 1982: 124) than any other town in Roman Britain, and are dated well to AD 351-375 (Lyon 2007: 148). They are clustered in two areas: on the east side of the town they are spaced every *c*.50 metres and constructed with re-used Roman building material (including funerary monuments); on the west side of the town the bastions are often hollow. No bastions are yet known along the central northern wall of marshy land around the Walbrook. Until recently the east-west split was thought to be chronological – those in the east being mid-4th century (Maloney 1985: 105-111; Perring 1991: 124), those in the west being medieval (Merrifield 1983: 229). However, excavations at the Merrill Lynch Financial Centre in Newgate ('11' on Figure 4) investigated three bastions (one with remains preserved, and available to view within the MLFC building), showing that two of the western bastions may indeed be Roman (Lyon 2007: 45). If Roman, one might claim that the entire town was active when these were constructed in the middle of the 4th century. This state-funded decision shows that London was still seen as worth investing in to maintain its high administrative and military role.

Figure 5: View of a large fragment of upstanding Roman town wall in London (photo by author)

Public Structures

London's public buildings offer a contrasting image. The *forum-basilica* was largely dismantled in the late 3rd or early 4th century (Brigham 1990b), and the robbing was so extensive that none of the *basilica* walls (bar perhaps the apse) were left upstanding – the late Anglo-Saxon streets and the position of the churches close by are not influenced by the *forum* (Brigham 1990b: 81; Perring 1991: 113). There were some collapsed wall fragments, over which dark earth soils accumulated in the 4th century. The dismantled material was presumably used in some other 4th-century building – perhaps the riverside wall or bastions. Elsewhere the long abandoned Huggin Hills baths now accommodated a series of workshops of metal- and glass-making (Perring 1991:113), and the major building on Peter's Hill was robbed by AD 340, with timber buildings being constructed over it (Williams 1993: 32). The amphitheatre was modified *c*.300, and in use up to *c*. AD 364-5 (Bateman *et al.* 2009: 86), after which masonry was robbed and the structure largely dismantled, but perhaps only as a piecemeal process (*ibid*: 87). The area subsequently formed as an open urban wasteland (discussed below).

Contrasting with these images of demolished and re-used public structures and spaces is Colchester House (seen on reconstruction image in Rowsome 2000: 46 in bottom-right corner), a large aisled building constructed after AD 350 in the city's eastern corner over an east-west street, with walls 2 metres thick (Sankey 1998: 79). Despite very limited archaeological survival (Figure 6), the excavator proposed a comparison to a late 4th-century church in Milan, Italy (St. Tecla). There is no evidence to confirm the function of the building, but it was certainly a large structure, and likely had a public role. Some scholars view this as a cathedral, notably Dark (2000: 52) who sees it symbolising the Church's emergence and dominance amongst the ruins of older public structures (*ibid*: 51). Sankey (1998: 36) rejects this interpretation and prefers to interpret it as a state granary (*horreum*), used to store tax in kind (*annona*), as *horrea* have been discovered in other towns in late Roman Britain, notably Building 127 from Colchester (see below), while continental examples are known from Milan, Aquileia, and Trier (Sankey 1998: 80). Watson meanwhile suggests it is the noted treasury (1998:101). Whatever the function of the building – religious or secular – it indicates that London still had buildings with an official or public function, and therefore an active population, in the town in the latter half of the 4th century.

Housing

Scholars are divided on the population levels of Late Roman London. Perring proposes around 100 houses

in the 3rd century, and 'fewer' in the 4th (1991: 117), whereas Sankey believes the town was larger and 'more vigorous than his [Perring's] figures suggest' (1998: 78). Faulkner is much more pessimistic, stating that in AD 300 there were 23 private buildings, and just one by AD 400 (1998a: 87)! However, many late Roman houses will have been constructed of mud (brick-earth) and timber, so we should not rely entirely on the evidence from the surviving masonry buildings as the sole indicators of continuity or decline of urbanism (Table 21). In a study of finds from late Roman levels from over 300 Department of Urban Archaeology (London) sites, the indicators are for a population reduction after AD 150, but with an increase between AD 270-400 (Milne 1995: 73). Indeed, we also see high volumes of 4th-century pottery within the town, though this may simply indicate changes in refuse disposal, as demonstrated by the increase of dark earth.

The archaeological evidence can in fact be read variously, but does point to ongoing private activity overall. Thus, around *c*. AD 300 a number of new large townhouses were constructed, including two in Lime Street (Merrifield 1955; Williams 1984) and another in Copthall Avenue (Milne 1985: 105). By the mid-4th century many of the urban properties were levelled: Bishopsgate (Perring 1991: 125), Harp Lane (Richardson 1988: 382), Leadenhall Court (Brigham 1990b: 53), and Newgate (Heathcote 1989: 46-53); destroyed by fire (two in Lime St), or else in decay (waterfront buildings at Pudding Lane – Milne 1985: 140).

What many archaeologists argue for is a shrinkage in the occupied (or built) intra-mural area: Merrifield (1983: 246) argued that the occupied area in the 4th century was: 'favouring the eastern half of the city', as suggested by coin evidence. Late coins to the west of the Walbrook came mainly from dark earth. Excavations also indicate longevity of buildings in the area of the bridgehead and perhaps along the riverside: some buildings were constructed, or floors resurfaced, in this area at Pudding Lane, Billingsgate, Peter's Hill, Canon St Station, and the Tower (Perring 1991: 127); some reclamation of the Thames foreshore occurred at the mouth of the Walbrook (*ibid* 1991:114); and a waterfront revival might be claimed in the late 4th century, on the basis of Mediterranean pottery finds (Snyder 1998: 142).

Contraction is evident also on the south side of the Thames at Southwark. Settlement here was mainly industrial throughout most of the Roman period, but this activity does not appear to have extended into the 4th century (Cowan 2009). By then settlement becomes contracted immediately around the bridgehead, with cemeteries and dark earth over previously occupied areas to the south (Cowan 2003 and 2009; Douglas 2008).

Soils and Space

Contraction of settlement across the 4th century meant the growth of 'brownfield' sites that will have left increasingly more open spaces. These zones feature the most common

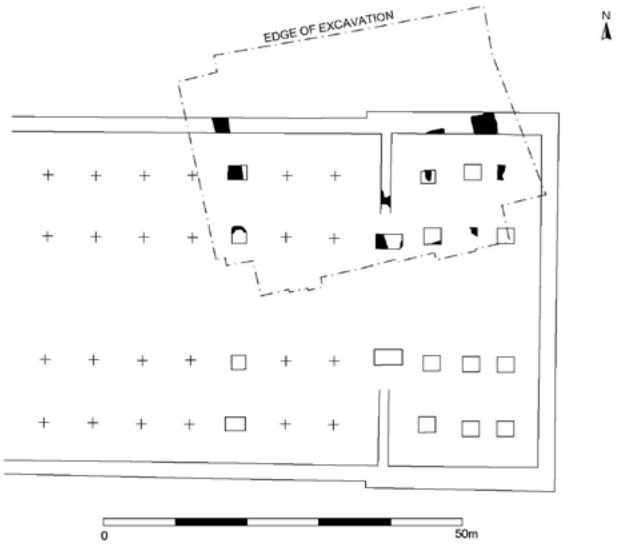


Figure 6: A large aisled building at Colchester House, London. Note the actual archaeological remains (shaded) compared to the substantial conjecture (redrawn by author, after Sankey 1998: 79)

archaeological deposit of late Roman urban archaeology: dark earth. The importance of studying dark earth in the study of 4th- and 5th-century London is vital (Milne 1995). W. F. Grimes was the first to systematically examine dark earth from 1946, which he described as 'sterile soil' (cited by Watson 1998b: 102). However, subsequent work has demonstrated that this hypothesis was far from correct, as reinforced by recent micro-morphological analysis (Macphail 2010, see also Section 6.5). Dark earth is present across many parts of 4th-century London (Figure 4), but it accumulated at different times, (Watson 1998a: 102), forming in some areas as early as the 2nd century (e.g. Milk Street, see above). As later Roman buildings were occasionally constructed over this early dark earth, as at King Street (Watson 1998a: 102), so this soil does not always represent a final Roman layer. When plotted onto the plan of Roman London some patterns emerge: most examples occur in areas set back from the main streets (Figure 4), the early dark earth being more often in more peripheral areas (e.g. Newgate). At 7 Bishopsgate it was sampled intensively in one metre squares and 100mm spits and analysis showed that the dark earth formed from deliberately dumped deposits over a 4th century mosaic-floored building. After AD 350 the soil was extensively re-worked from earthworm burrowing; this was highly destructive, even working through 'solid' structures like mosaics (Sankey 2002: 24). By implication, later dark earth and natural activity can seriously damage the final Roman levels.

Work in 1972-74 in Southwark concluded that the dark earth here resulted from the dumping of domestic and organic (both human and animal) rubbish on abandoned urban areas to create market gardens for fruit and vegetables (Cowan 2009: 150). There are a number of problems with the 'market garden' interpretation, the issues being centred on the origin

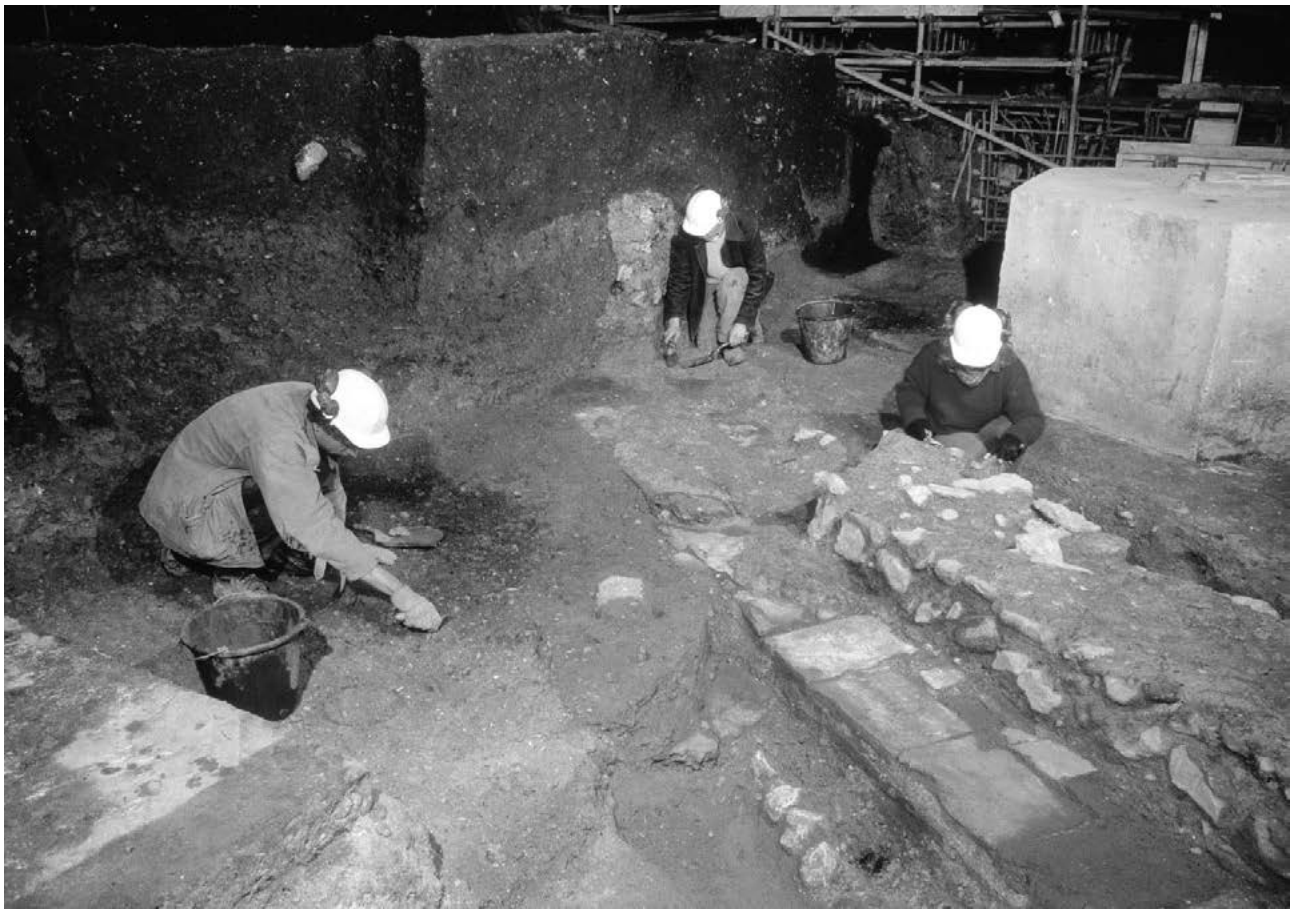


Figure 7: A thick deposit of dark earth, overlying London amphitheatre's arena wall (image courtesy and copyright Museum of London Archaeology)

of the soil. Convenient dumping grounds could have been used for poor quality grazing after a few years. However, elsewhere, the market gardens view is not supported by micromorphological study of the dark earth. Such studies reveal that dark earth usually has two horizons – the lower initial build-up and reworking by plant roots and worms, the upper mixed with Roman strata and dumping material like ash and cess, always uniform as a result of biological re-working. In fact, pollen from dark earth rarely shows good evidence for farming or gardening, plants represented being from grasslands or 'urban wasteland' (for example wormwood or haresfoot clover). The urban wasteland interpretation appears in many of the more recent excavation reports that often have detailed micromorphological analysis, such as the amphitheatre (Bateman *et al*. 2009: 94) (Figure 8). However, in some cases, late Roman buildings can be part of the make-up of dark earth (e.g. at Newgate and Milk St). Clearly this rubbish is being produced by people (and animals) living locally, and was active from an early date. This fact points to a far less marked difference between classical and late Roman London.

Religious Structures and Burials

An historical source records that a Bishop Restitutus of London was sent to the Church Council of Arles in AD 314 (Petts 2003: 38). Evidence of a wider Christian population is seen from a single pewter bowl with a scratched chi-rho symbol (not solely a Christian symbol) on the base found at Copthall Court (Wheeler 1935: 25), and from chalk or plaster burials in a number of the cemeteries hinting at Christian practices (Perring 1991: 122). It is equally difficult, however, to observe an extended life to paganism in London: the Temple of Mithras saw major alterations in the early 4th century, the columns dividing the nave being removed and the structure subsequently dismantled in *c*.310-20, when a Mithras sculpture was buried in a pit. The structure was then rebuilt and re-floored, perhaps then used as a *bacchium* or *sacrarium* (Henig 1998: 230). The latest coins are of AD 341-46 though some ceramics from the final floor surfaces may be early 5th century (Shepherd 1988b: 229). Following disuse of the building it remained upstanding as a ruin (*ibid*: 229). The Mithras temple was located close to the Walbrook stream, an area that may have always been an important place for religious practices. The most recent discovery of a hoard of *c.*20 bronze, pewter, and iron vessels dated to AD 335-375/450 was found at Draper's Garden (Gerrard 2009: 163). Gerrard argues that this hoard marked a ritual community act marking the abandonment of this part of the town with the sacrifice of prestigious objects (*ibid*: 180). Also in the early 4th century a Romano-British temple outside Newgate was demolished and replaced by a nine room masonry building – possibly an inn or road station (*mansio*) (Perring 1991: 113).

Noticeably, burials begin to occur within the town space during the 4th century. Previously, Roman law forbade intramural burial and perhaps (as yet undiscovered) urban churches were acting as a focus for burials. So far such burials lie west of the Walbrook (Figure 4), in areas where fewer buildings were maintained and dark earth soils indicate wasteland. Then, in the 4th century several human burials were made (*ibid*: 77): five burials – one a child – and three deposits of re-deposited human bone were discovered; they were all east-west oriented, regularly spaced. These burials may indicate that this remained an uninhabited zone (a route-way with burials located alongside the road, out of the inhabited area of the city to the east of the Walbrook but well within the town walls). Also west of the Walbrook three further inhumations, dating to between AD 365-420, were buried close to the amphitheatre (Bateman *et al.* 2009: 92). Potentially these could be Christian, buried close to the ruinous amphitheatre because of the connections with martyrdom; alternatively, they marked a casual reuse of redundant civic urban space.

The Urban Hinterland

The wider region of London – the Thames valley – offers an image of villas and rural settlements which were 'from the later 3rd to the early 4th century AD…either established, abandoned or transformed' (Booth *et al.* 2007: 75). From the early to later 4th century no major changes occur, some settlements / sites fail while others see further growth, but the overwhelming picture is currently one of stability: 'many of the Upper Thames Valley settlements in existence at the start of the late Roman period also appear to have continued until at least the end of the 4th century' (*ibid*: 77). The Roman small town at Staines shows similar patterns to London; despite late Roman finds, there is little structural evidence or dark earth, and the impression is one of a reduction in population levels (*ibid*: 74).

Some scholars have argued that to the south of London (in the area of Mitcham, Beddington, Croydon, and Tulse Hill) were possible bases for 5th-century *foederati* (claims based mainly on the presence of military items from burials – see Evison 1965; Poulton 1987: 213-16; Hines 2004), sited to defend, but later control sub-Roman London. While Poulton sees this as an agreement between Romans and Saxons (Poulton 1987: 216), Hines more credibly reconstructs a sub-Roman population actively maintaining the landscape (Hines 2004: 97-8). Cowie and Blackmore (2008: 128) argue against such proposals, stressing that the archaeological evidence is very limited; they flag how also few villas and estates in the London area remained in use into the 5th century, unlike around Verulamium and Colchester (see below).

The 5th and 6th Centuries

Rather insecure documentary evidence suggests that London was still utilised in the mid-5th century, as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records (for AD 457) the flight of the British to London after their defeat at Creaganford (Crayford, Kent) at the hands of Hengist and Horsa, leaders of the Anglo-Saxon invaders (Swanton 2000: 13). This implies that the walled area was still a place of refuge at least. Earlier scholars argued that the local Romano-British population was strong enough to resist Anglo-Saxon immigrant populations (Wheeler 1935: 54-9). This became the established view for many years, as maintained by Merrifield (1983: 259), who saw London forming the centre of resistance to a sub-Roman kingdom with Colchester and Verulamium. Cowie and Blackmore rightly argue that this view should be largely discounted (2008: 127); the evidence discussed above points to a town that had become virtually empty in the early 5th century, even if a few buildings perhaps remained in use for several decades after AD 400 (Perring 1991: 128).

For Anglo-Saxon artefacts and features, evidence so far only comes from three sites: Pudding Lane, Billingsgate, and Peter's Hill. At Pudding Lane a Sunken-Featured Building (SFB) was found built within the shell of a late Roman building, though it is not well dated and poorly recorded. Milne (1985: 33) states that this shows that some people *were* living in London in the 5th and 6th centuries AD, and he argues that this one building represents around 100 years of activity. Perring is rightly far more cautious, opting for the view that this building represents just decades of activity (1991: 128). Despite being so far the only 'Anglo-Saxon' structure it certainly raises the possibility of further – as yet undiscovered – buildings within this zone. However, there is only one stratified post-Roman find within the intra-mural area of London – a mid-5th-century saucer brooch found among fallen roof tiles in the *frigidarium* of a ruined bath house at Billingsgate (Merrifield 1983: 253). One sherd of early Anglo-Saxon pottery close to Billingsgate bathhouse is believed to have been made in Charnwood (north of Leicester), or else Scandinavia (Merrifield 1983: 247-255, Cowie 2008: 50). At St. Peter's Hill there is slight evidence for possible 5th-century activity (William 1982; Perring 1991: 128; Milne 1995: 75; Dark 2000: 51). Interestingly, two of the three noted sites lie near the bridgehead and river crossing. In sum, the virtual absence of 5th- to 6th-century evidence is quite striking despite the vast numbers of excavations. Either the town was virtually deserted, or at most it was utilised by a small semi-rural farming population (Marsden and West 1992: 186), leaving little archaeological trace.

Quite probably a revised settlement focus lay *c*.1km further west, in the area that was to become Anglo-Saxon Lundenwic (Schofield 1999; Vince 1984). This settlement was known to be flourishing by the 7th century (see below). Valuably, recent excavations at St. Martin-in-the-Fields have provided significant evidence for the link between the Roman and Anglo-Saxon activity (Telfer 2008: 342; Telfer 2010). The site has evidence for a Roman tile kiln that was last fired AD 400-450 – 'the latest dated Roman structure in central London' (Telfer 2008: 257). At this time the area was used for high-status burials, located on a prominent visible position (Telfer 2010: 52). Grave finds match a date of AD 400

to 450 (*ibid*: 53), and a Roman limestone sarcophagus burial was radiocarbon dated to AD 340-530 cal (*ibid*: 52). An (as yet undated) mud-brick oven and traces of timber structures followed. Later in the early 6th century comes evidence for timber structures of numerous phases (*ibid*: 55), while burials continue throughout the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries, including a north-south burial with accompanying pottery dated to *c*.AD 500. By the 7th century there were further burials of a high status (Burton 2007: 256), and the area became occupied by timber buildings, part of Lundenwic.

Beyond the largely deserted Londinium and the emerging Lundenwic, evidence exists for a diffuse, small-scale settlement pattern or loose agglomerations of buildings of various sizes (Cowie and Blackmore 2008: 137). The River Thames and its tributaries will have framed this activity, providing water, movement and boundaries. In fact, by the end of the 6th century the Thames had become a major political boundary dividing the East Saxons on the north side, and the kingdoms of Kent and Surrey on the south (*ibid*: 132). Most of the Early Anglo-Saxon settlement is focused along, and close to, the river and Roman streets, with the clay uplands mainly avoided and presumably left as woodland (Figure 8). Nearly all the small farms / settlements were located in transitional areas between different types of environment – e.g. woodland clearings, on the margins of fens and rivers (*ibid*: 131) – each offering good potential for exploiting a wide range of natural resources.

The Early 7th Century

By the early 7th century Lundenwic was a thriving trading port, located in the area of Aldwych (Vince 1984; 1990). It was recorded by Bede as: '…ipsa multorum emporium populorum terra marique uenientium' ('…an emporium for many nations who come to it by land and sea', Bede II: iii). Yet contemporary with this was the first recorded post-Roman building in former Roman London, namely the Cathedral of St Paul, built in AD 604 by king Aethelbert for Mellitus, the first bishop of London and the East Saxons: '…rex Aedilberct in ciuitate Lundonia ecclesiam sancti Pauli apostoli' (Bede II: iii). This mid-Anglo-Saxon church remains undiscovered but presumably occupies the same location as (or very close to) the later Anglo-Saxon and medieval Cathedral of St Paul's (Tatton-Brown 1986: 21). The site is striking: Schofield notes that it was papal

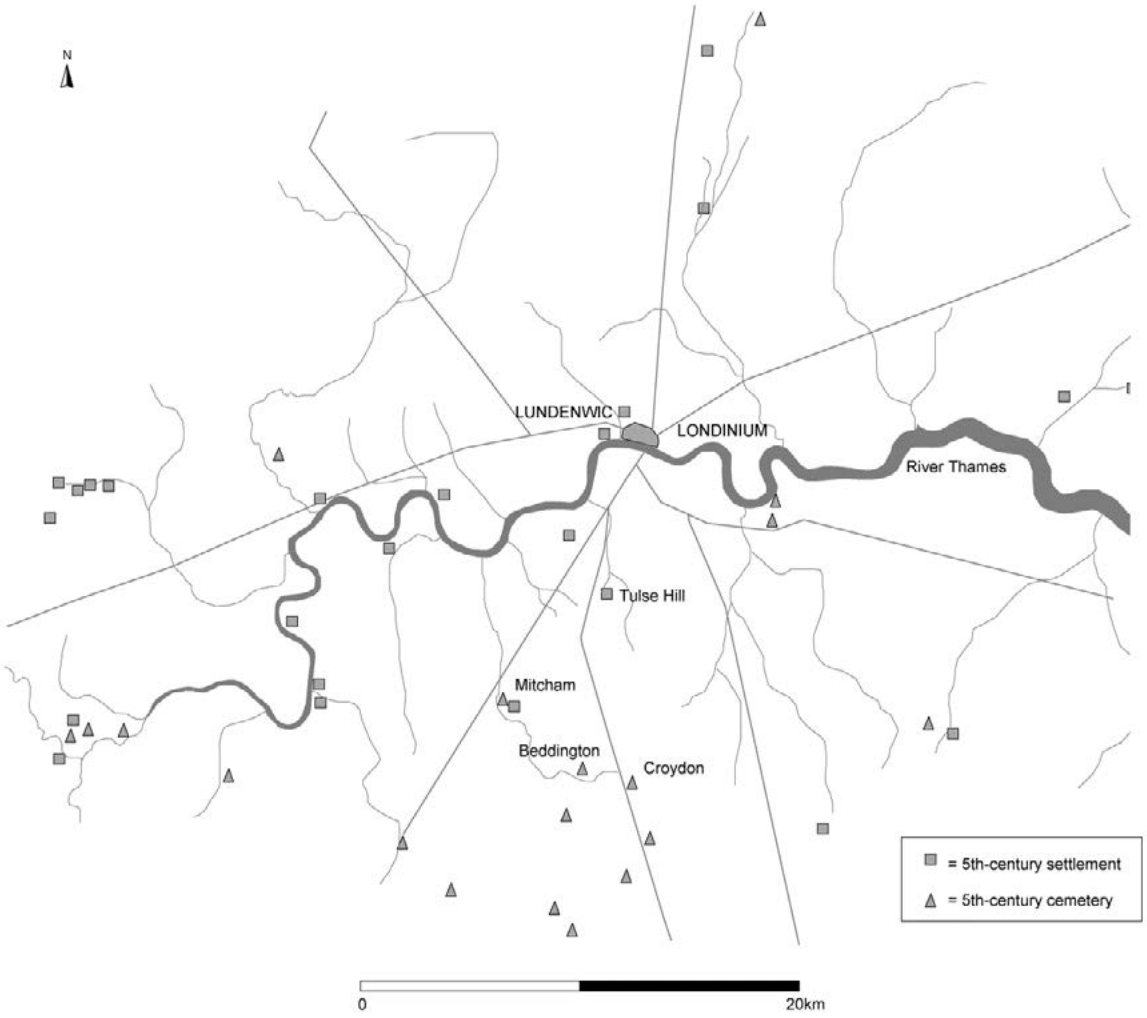


Figure 8: 5th- to 6th-century sites in the region of London
(drawn by author, updated from Clark and Sheldon 2008: 52, fig.1.7.1)

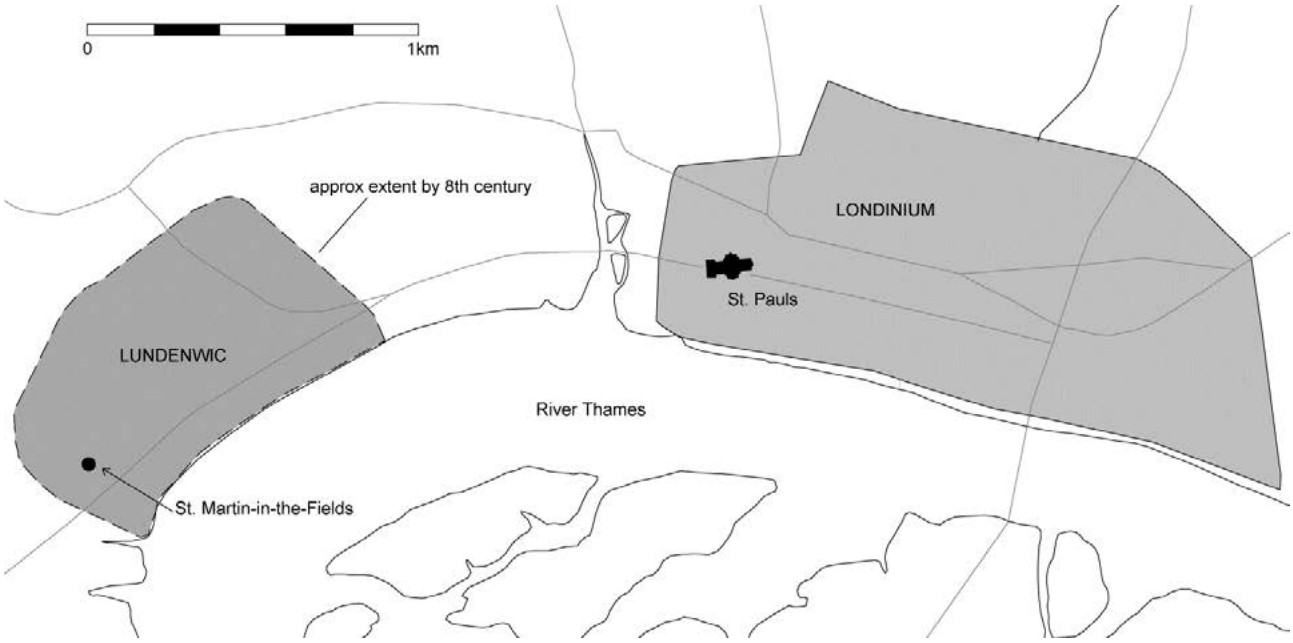


Figure 9: Roman London in relation to Mid-Saxon Lundenwic. Major Roman roads indicated (drawn by author, updated from Rowsome 2000: 48)

policy to establish cathedrals in former Roman towns whatever the level of population (1999: 12); most probably we should assume an (associated or nearby) royal palace. By c.AD 650 London had gained a mint that produced gold coins, minted under ecclesiastical authority (Merrifield 1980: 265). The establishment of an ecclesiastical see began the long process of resettlement, initially focused around St. Paul's, later spreading out with new planned streets added as part of Alfred's burh in the late 9th century (Tatton-Smith 1986: 23).

Altering Settlement Forms: London AD 300-600

Based on the above evidence and discussions, the following settlement sequences are proposed for London:

- AD 300-350. Defensive renewal, growth mixed with stagnation.
- AD 350-400. Defensive additions, contraction, more timber housing, Christian? Open spaces and soils
- AD 400+. Urban settlement failure and non-urban settlement shift

Londinium's character began to change at the beginning of the 4th century, shown by reused building material deriving from redundant public structures. In particular the forum was largely dismantled, with only part of the basilica still upstanding. This reflects changing needs rather than an urban decline, the inhabitants apparently no longer needing a huge forum, but requiring a riverside defensive wall. Some public buildings were re-modelled and enhanced (such as the amphitheatre), and various large private townhouses were built or modified. By the mid-4th century further extensive re-modelling of the defensive circuit occurs with external bastions added. However, a settlement contraction perhaps came from this point, with a focus of settlement in the eastern half of the town, close to the bridge crossing to Southwark. This phase features more evidence for timber structures, along with workshops of metal- and glass-making. However, a very large hall structure was also built in this area, its function either an official secular building (state granary, treasury) or religious (cathedral), either way pointing to London's high official status. As well as extra-mural burials occurring within the intra-mural area for the first time in the late 4th century. Most of the remaining un-built space was used as waste ground. The urban settlement fails early in the 5th century, and certainly by the mid-5th century we lack trace of any kind of intra-mural continuity. This failure is offset by evidence to the east, of a few burials, industry and timber housing, these in time overtaken by the buildings of the trading site of Lundenwic.

3.3 Colchester

Roman Colchester (*Camulodunum*) is located c.10km from the modern Essex coastline, set on the river Colne, and on a major Roman road that led from London (80km south-west) to Caistor St. Edmund (c.80km north). As with modern Suffolk/north Essex, the Roman landscape was predominantly rural, with just a few small towns along the main routes through the region and other minor settlements (Gurney 1995; Plouviez 1995).

The Archaeological Resource

The earliest modern excavations at Colchester were undertaken in 1917 by Mortimer Wheeler on the town defences at Balkerne Gate (Hull 1958: 16-21; Wheeler

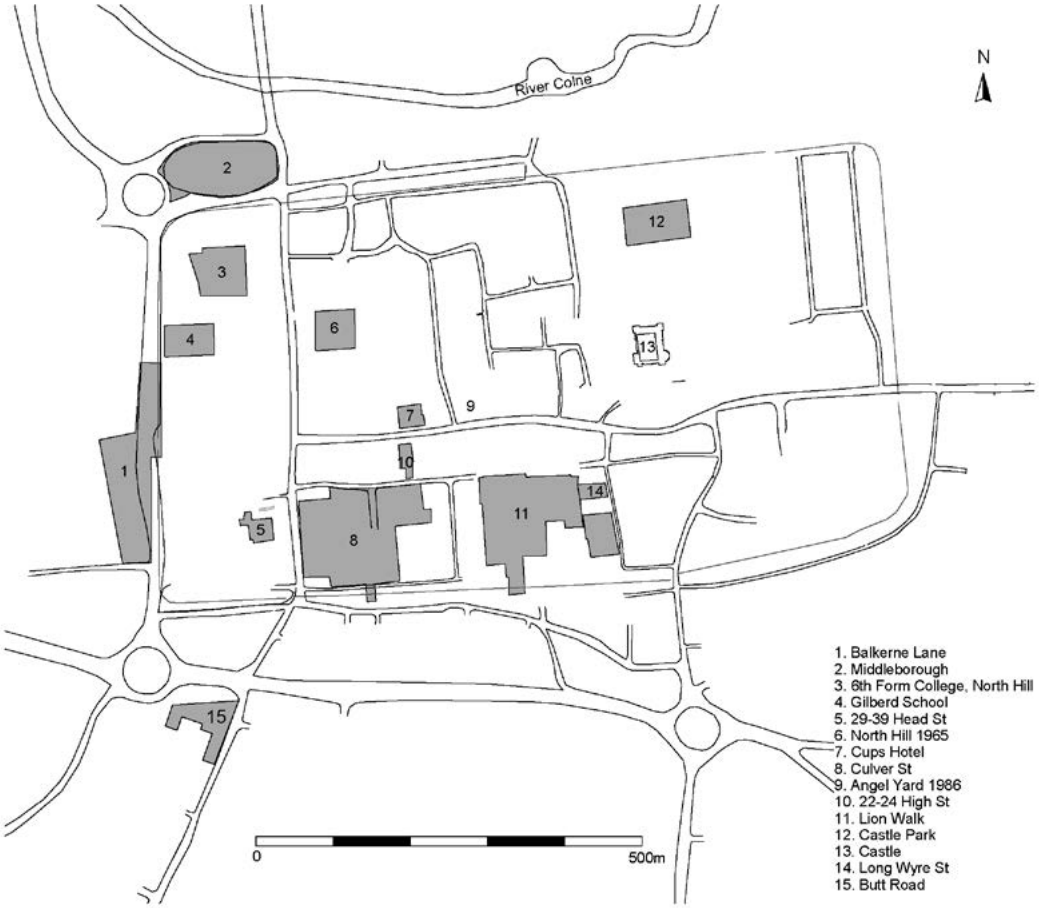


FIGURE 10: KEY EXCAVATIONS IN COLCHESTER (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, UPDATED FROM CRUMMY 1992: 2)

1921; Wheeler and Laver 1921), and on Roman townhouses in Castle Park in 1920 (Wheeler 1923). From the 1920s through to the 1950s, the city archaeologist Rex Hull was involved in many of the main excavations and archaeological observations, and his various efforts are detailed in *Roman Colchester* (1958) and in Hawkes and Hull (1947); both remain a useful resource on many of the minor (and major) discoveries up to the late 1950s. The bulk of the more modern archaeological data from Colchester belongs to a series of large and medium-size excavations during the 1970s and 1980s, led by Philip Crummy, all published as the 12 volume *Colchester Archaeological Report* series (Figure 10). An overview was compiled immediately after the major excavations in the early 1980s (Crummy 1984), and fully revised much later following post-excavation analysis (Crummy 1997). Other articles on the town's archaeology appear in *Essex Archaeology and History. Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, from 1858 to present, and in summary, popular form in *The Colchester Archaeologist*. Since 2008 there is the on-line resource containing an ever growing number of published and unpublished grey-literature developer-funded excavation reports from 1997 to the present: the *Colchester Archaeological Trust Online Report Library* (http://cat.essex.ac.uk). Most work since 1997 within the intra-mural area of Colchester has been largely small-scale excavations/ evaluations/ watching briefs, but adding useful data to the overall database of evidence, mainly in regard to late Roman houses and on 5th- and 6th-century finds data. Interestingly, 48% of all Roman-period commercial projects from 1990-2004 in Essex were from Colchester (Fulford and Holbrook 2011: 331). Figure 10 shows the focus of excavations in the western half of the town, the eastern remaining largely un-investigated, chiefly because a large proportion of this is occupied by the Norman castle and by a public park.

Origins and Development

The immediate environs featured a substantial late Iron Age site, the principal centre of the Trinovantes, recorded on late 1st-century BC coinage as CAM (Crummy 1994: 3). Camulodunum was seemingly densely populated and held prominent defensive ground, bounded by the river Colne to the north, 'Roman river' to the south, and with substantial earth dykes to the south and west. The layout of the fortress of AD 43 is known from numerous excavations, though few of the buildings have been examined fully (Crummy 1994: 9). The colony was founded soon after, with the military defences backfilled

and new streets laid; while some of the military buildings were demolished, others were converted into civilian use. Public buildings were constructed to the east (previously a military annex), including the temple of Claudius, and theatre. In AD 60/1 the town was largely destroyed in the infamous 'Boudican revolt' - reflected in burnt layers identified throughout the town (Crummy 1997: 73). The town defences were built shortly after this, along with mass re-building of the town's public and private structures. Some areas of the town appear to have never been re-developed, being left as largely open areas. Early cultivation soils are known from *Insulae* 17a, 34, 35, and 36; analysis of these deposits indicated these were only short-lived soil formations (Crummy 1994: 13). The 2nd and early 3rd centuries saw more developed building forms, including some high-status courtyard houses, many with mosaics (Crummy 1992: 31), implying a period of prosperity, though the population may not have grown. Crummy (1994: 14) estimates a population of a few thousand people in c. 300 houses; his figures are based on the Culver St and Lion Walk excavations where 6-8 houses per *insula* were hypothesised.

The 4th Century

Town Defences

The Roman town defences and gates are still upstanding for most of the circuit. These have been investigated intermittently, and are usefully summarised in Hull (1958: 14-63) and Crummy (2001; 2003). In the late 3rd century the town defences (then 250 years old) underwent major alterations that were to dramatically alter life within the town. Impetus may have been from the threat of Anglo-Saxon sea raids (the town is situated just 10 km from the east coast). Most notably the town ditch was re-modelled from a V-shape to a U-shaped profile that was wider and shallower (Crummy and Brooks 1984: 111) – perhaps to counteract more developed forms of weaponry. The alterations took place around AD 275, dated by coins

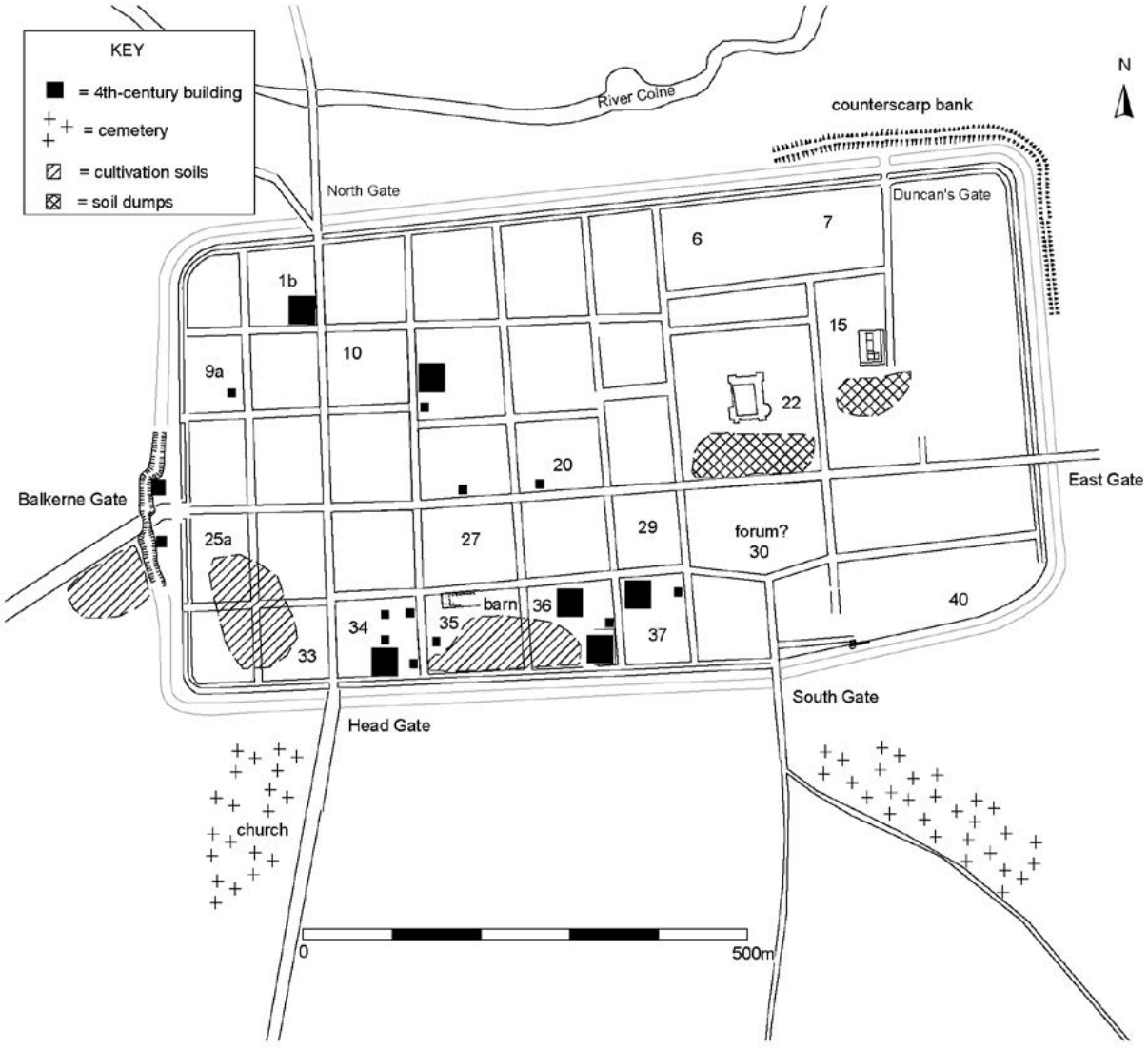


FIGURE 11: 4TH-CENTURY COLCHESTER (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, UPDATED FROM CRUMMY 1997: 114)

found in the ditch soil (*ibid*: 115). The programme must have required a substantial workforce and illustrates the perceived importance of maintaining Colchester as an active urban centre in the late 3rd / early 4th century.

And yet just 25 years later – c. AD 300 – Balkerne Lane gate was blocked in its western half, leaving only pedestrian access through (Crummy and Brooks 1984: 111-5), and the ditch was extended across and in front of the gate. The main route into the town from London was relocated to the south, presumably through Head Gate. Around this time, buildings immediately outside Balkerne Lane gate were demolished (see below) – potentially in preparation for the defensive re-designs, or else because of the gate blocking – and part of the area was turned to cultivation. Buildings outside the North Gate also fell redundant; was this gate (not investigated archaeologically) also (part) blocked? The same fate perhaps hit 'Duncan's Gate' in the north-east, where an earthwork bank was added outside the corner of the town wall (Crummy 1997: 115). The bank may have been designed to give the impression of a well-defended town from the river to the north.

Public Structures

Few of Colchester's principal Roman public buildings have been excavated; most are believed to be sited in the largely unexplored eastern half of the town, such as the forum in *Insula* 30 south of the Temple of Claudius (Hull 1955: 155). The location of the public baths is unknown, though a building in *Insula* 15 is likely to have been an associated water house (Crummy 1994: 15). This was in use to AD 350, after which it was used for refuse disposal in the latter half of the 4th century. A theatre has been partly investigated in *Insula* 13 (Crummy 1982), and a further public building is thought to lie within *Insula* 29 (Crummy 1992: 15, fig.2.9). In all cases, little of the chronological sequence is known.

At Culver Street a large timber building ('Building 127') adjacent and parallel to a street in *Insula* 35 was constructed c. AD 300 (Crummy 1992: 112). The building measured at least 45m in length and 17m in width, and was aisled with two rows of pillars, 1.5m apart (Figure 12). The structure was constructed of re-used building materials, the piers featuring mixed tiles, septaria (a naturally occurring stone) and opus signinum, the re-used material probably from recently demolished buildings in the area (e.g. Buildings 122 and 123). No mortar floor surfaces survived due to later ploughing or garden cultivation but probably there would have been a sandy clay surface (*ibid*: 112). Two inhumation burials were located below the north aisle; these were buried without coffins with the head to the north. Radiocarbon dating gave broad 3rd- to 6th-century dates (*ibid*: 115). The interpretation of Building 127 is uncertain due to a lack of associated evidence (no floors or internal features beyond the burials). The excavation report suggests a possible church, even though the burials are oriented north-south rather than east-west. Alternatively this is an agricultural barn (Figure 12) or granary since the structure is surrounded by cultivated areas and a corn-drying oven broadly dated to the same period (Crummy 1992: 111). Another possibility is that this was a military warehouse – around 12 other similar basilica-style structures are known in other towns (including at Verulamium and London, see Table 7 in Section 6.5), with a position on the street-frontage here. In fact the building encroaches upon the road, reducing its width from 9 to 6.5m. Faulkner sees this as evidence for a breakdown of civic organisation (1994: 105), but perhaps its prominent street frontage location indicates that it held a public function, or that it was sited for easy offloading and loading of hay, etc.

Housing

So far 27 private buildings have been located, sampled, or excavated within Colchester's circuit that date to the 4th century (see Table 15). Often dating evidence for the final use of the buildings can only be roughly assigned, especially in the later 4th century when ceramic chronologies are less well defined. Broadly speaking, from the known examples, most (48%) seem to go out of use within the first couple of decades of the century, and a few mid-way through (11%). Late 4th-century buildings which could conceivably continue into the early 5th century, do, however, make up a significant number at 22%, while a further 19% can be dated only broadly to the 4th century. Half of the buildings that go out of use in the early 4th century are large high-status townhouses, whereas those that endure into the late 4th are split evenly with two large buildings along with smaller structures. The data presented in the chart below are updated from Faulkner's 1998 thesis, though crucially here I use the dates proposed by the excavators based on artefactual evidence, not by any other calculation for the longevity and end-use of the buildings. These data show that, despite significant loss of private housing in the early 4th century, a good number of buildings remained active throughout the century. What is less clear is whether major structural changes occurred within these survivors.

The dataset is small, and the dating imprecise. However, the evidence may be hinting at broad patterns of change in the 4th-century town. Previous studies on room use by Faulkner identified similar patterns, though his conclusions were slightly more extreme, arguing that 75% of high-status townhouses had been abandoned by the mid-4th century. His approach was more focused on tracing patterns of classical Roman urbanism, and if the building was not deemed a 'grand' townhouse, occupation was too quickly presumed to be low-grade and of little merit (1994: 107). 'Towns' are a combination of all levels of society, and so we should expect to find a mixture of large and small buildings in these, and changes in their quality over time. Here, clearly, the archaeological evidence indicates that a number of large townhouses were demolished (not abandoned) in the early 4th century; some were replaced with smaller structures; and others given over to cultivated

FIGURE 12: PLAN SHOWING CHANGE FROM A 3RD-CENTURY TOWNHOUSE TO A 4TH-CENTURY BARN, COLCHESTER INSULA 35 (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, MODIFIED FROM CRUMMY 1992: FIG.3.7 AND 3.8)

areas (see discussion below). Changes are thus occurring, but this was still an active townscape. The materials from those demolished houses were presumably used elsewhere, perhaps for repair to the town defences, or for other buildings like the barn in *Insula* 35 (see below) that contained re-used tiles.

Of the known 4th-century buildings the most complete examples come from the Lion Walk and Culver Street excavations. At Lion Walk, five were identified: one large courtyard house and four smaller timber buildings (Crummy 1984: 55). At Culver Street, seven of the ten buildings dating to the 4th century ran up to AD 325, though only one large house (building 115), continued into the late 4th century (*ibid*: 83). It seems likely that building activity within *Insulae* 34-37 persisted throughout the century, with the first couple of decades characterised by a number of large townhouses, to be replaced c. AD 350 by smaller buildings and more open spaces, if with some higher-status buildings still present.

Such detailed patterns of change cannot currently be traced elsewhere within the town, although a few small-scale investigations along the High Street hint at a similar mixed pattern of buildings retained into the latter half of the century, standing amongst areas of demolished or abandoned buildings. At Cups Hotel a building with a cellar was in use up to AD 350, after which came a coin hoard of 350-360, followed by no further dated activity (Crummy 1992: 328), and at Angel Yard, good quantities of late Roman material were recovered to show activity across the 4th century (Shimmin and Carter 1996).

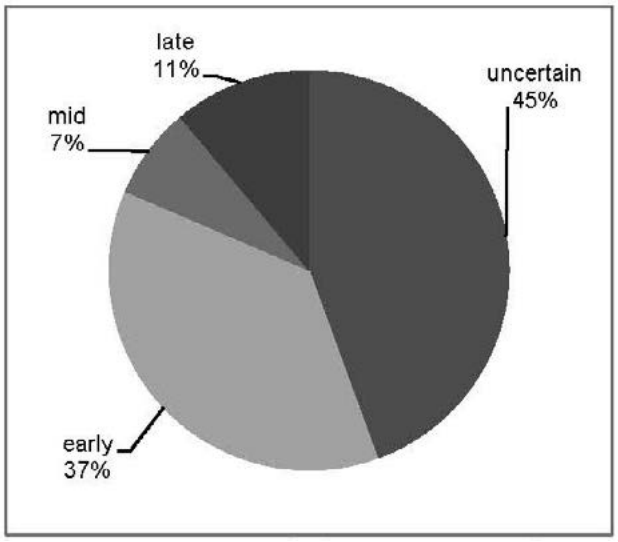


Figure 13: Longevity of 4th-century private housing in Colchester (27 buildings), see Table 15 for full details

Soils and Space

Open un-built space within the intra-mural area of towns should not be viewed as a solely late Roman phenomenon. Despite a colourful reconstruction painting showing a densely packed 3rd-century town (Crummy 1997: 98-99), the evidence indicates that Roman Colchester contained open areas already from the 1st century (*ibid*: 115). These soils in Colchester can be divided between dumped rubbish deposits and cultivation soils; the dumped deposits have been noted especially within the public buildings of the 'water house' and the Temple of Claudius, as noted above.

Cultivation soils are recorded at both Culver Street and Lion Walk, showing that following the noted early 4th-century demolition of numerous townhouses the extent of open areas grew (indeed, the reconstruction view of Colchester in AD 400 may be more appropriate for any point in the 4th century, see Crummy 1997: 126-127). Presumably because these buildings were demolished, the land (and building material) was needed for another use, such as for animal grazing.

In the later 4th century some of the redundant public buildings were reused as rubbish dumps. Elsewhere, areas once occupied by larger townhouses (e.g. close to Building 127) appear to have been replaced in the mid-4th century by small timber buildings and rubbish pits (Crummy *et al*. 1993: 122). In amongst these were dark earth deposits, which, rather than signifying decay, here imply continually inhabited and active urban space.

Religious Structures and Burials

For religion and burials Colchester has much to offer, with endurance of pagan sites, alongside good evidence for a Christian presence. Firstly, temples on the outskirts of the town (at Sheepen and Gosbecks) continued into the (mid- and) late 4th century (Crummy 1980). However, temples may have been used for different purposes: one immediately outside the Balkerne Gate stood throughout the 4th century, though it was modified, suggesting a new function (Crummy and Brooks 1984). Perhaps it acted as an external tower, adjacent to the blocked-up gate. The prominent central Temple of Claudius, and the surrounding complex in *Insula* 22 have produced Late Roman pottery, including a rim sherd with the Chi-Rho symbol scratched upon it, perhaps indicating Christian activity (Hull 1955). Drury (1984) notes that high levels of late Roman finds in the area of the temple are chiefly from dark earth soils representing dumped deposits in the walled courtyard complex. The latest coins recovered are of Valentinian II (AD 382-92) and Theodosius I (AD 379-95). Presumably the area was being then used as a domestic rubbish site. But Drury (1984) postulated that the temple was re-modelled as a church in the later 4th century, and the complex as a whole used as a small defensive citadel. However, according to Crummy (1997: 120), a small excavation inside the temple in 1996 showed no 4th-century modifications. A problem of course lies in

the fact that the Norman castle obviously removed most of the superstructure evidence. Drury even argues that the use of the complex extended into the 5th century in a Romano-Saxon context, but did 'fall into gentle decay' (1984: 7). More likely, the building lost its function as a temple by the beginning of the second decade of the 4th century, and subsequently it became a municipal dump – comparable to events at Verulamium and Canterbury.

The alterations to the town defences had re-routed access through the town so that the road through Head Gate to the south became the main route-way. It is outside this southern road that a church was imposed and the cemetery expanded at Butt Road (Crummy *et al*. 1993). The church is believed to have been built c. AD 330 (*ibid*: 164), though the terminus post quem comes from dumped deposits below the church, these containing pottery of mid-2nd- to 3rd-century date (*ibid*: 166). The building itself had a few phases: the earliest was a rectangular building, with apse and aisles added in c.380, and extended c.400 (Crummy 1997: 123); it had a simple clay floor and tiled roof. Inside the building were four pits near the east end, two of these thought '...to incorporate modest structures of timber... there clearly had been something unusual in the ground at the east end of the building' (*ibid*: 124). One pit contained a human skull and femur, along with unusual finds such as an iron frying-pan, iron bowl, iron knife, and bird bones. Potentially all four pits denoted important burials or deposits including possible (holy) relics (*ibid*: 124). Substantial numbers of coins were recovered, many of AD 320-340, but also of the later 4th century. The numerous animal bones implied some religious feasting (Crummy *et al*. 1993: 171). A timber structure ('Building 140') was constructed c.335 (a terminus post quem from coin evidence) close to the west of the church, this contained a hearth and numerous pits; the excavator proposed that this was a cook-house for the church (Crummy *et al*. 1993: 177-178).

The associated cemetery has had over 700 burials excavated. It features two clear phases: the earlier burials of 3rd- to 4th-century date were aligned north-south, whereas from the early 4th century onwards burials were aligned east-west potentially denoting acceptance to Christianity in the early 4th century. To support the evidence that this second phase denotes a Christian cemetery is the fact that the burials were '…undisturbed by others, supine and extended…an absence of decapitations…low incidence of grave goods…decorated lead coffins…plaster burials...' (Crummy *et al*. 1993: 198). Crummy *et al*. (1993:189) proposed that the Butt Road church may have only served as a suburban congregational church, and that a much larger (episcopal) church should have lain within the walls.

The Urban Hinterland

The scant evidence from the smaller urban settlements in the region of Colchester is sufficient to suggest similar changing settlement patterns: there is clear activity throughout the 4th century (Table 2), comprising pottery, coins, housing and dark soils, yet without any evidence for Christianity. Does this reflect Christianity as centred solely on the main town? Or is it simply a current lack of evidence from these sites? It is interesting to note a strong Anglo-Saxon presence at most of the small towns (Figure 15), and an SFB at one. Perhaps this indicates continued occupation at a number of these settlements, and maybe these smaller sites were more 'manageable' settlements.

The 5th and 6th Centuries

In 1958 Hull described early post-Roman Colchester thus: 'for a very long time it must have been a village...the dissolution of the ruins was assisted from time to time by those who grubbed and burrowed into them for building material' (1958: 14). But major excavations of the 1970s and 1980s revealed fuller settlement activity during the

Table 2: Summary of key archaeological indicators of life within small towns around Colchester, AD 300 -650

Town / settlement	4th century pits	Dark earth	Christian presence	SFBs	'Anglo-Saxon' finds	'Anglo-Saxon' burials outside walls	Reference
COLCHESTER	●	●	●	●	●	●	see above
Braintree	●	●					Bedwin 1986; Drury 1976; Havis 1993
Chelmsford	●	●			●	●	Drury 1975, 1985
Great Dunmow	●	●			●		Wickenden 1988
Heybridge	●			●	●	●	Drury and Wickenham 1982; Wickenham 1986
Kelvedon					●	●	Rodwell 1988

early Anglo-Saxon period; indeed, this 5th- to 7th-century presence is fairly substantial in comparison to other towns within Britain, with 'Anglo-Saxon' buildings and artefacts known from the intra-mural area (Crummy 1981, 1992), as well as from extra-mural burials and cemeteries – some of likely high status (Crummy and Crummy 1981). All the evidence has been updated and presented in Figure 14 below.

When the first major review of the evidence for Anglo-Saxon Colchester was made in 1981, two buildings had been discovered at Lion Walk (Crummy and Crummy 1981). Subsequently two further buildings were revealed at Culver Street (Crummy 1992), and finds of Anglo-Saxon date discovered in small-scale excavations (see Table 16). Crummy has argued that there is enough evidence to show that Colchester was inhabited throughout from AD 400-700 (and beyond), and '…is not likely to have been deserted, even briefly…' (1997: 133). But he sees no concentration of occupation; rather, it was 'scattered throughout the town' (*ibid*: 134). Nonetheless, one could hypothesise two clusters of intramural settlement: one around the area of Head Gate – Lion Walk / Culver St, in *Insulae* 33-36; and the second in the North Hill area (*Insula* 10). Noticeably, these are in areas that have the longest sequences of 'Late Roman' settlement, and there is an absence of Anglo-Saxon finds / activities in areas without such long lasting Roman activity (e.g. Balkerne Lane, Middleborough, High St.).

In the broad settlement area around Head Gate, four post-Roman buildings have been identified, comprising Sunken-Featured-Buildings (SFBs), discovered at the Lion Walk and Culver Street excavations – significantly the two largest open-area excavations in Colchester. One building is dated to the 5th or 6th century, two to the 6th or 7th century, and the fourth building is loosely dated to between the 6th to 8th or 12th century. Of these we might note two 6th- or 7th-century SFBs: 'Hut 1' at Lion Walk was built onto collapsed Roman roof tiles and walls; one post-hole survived later truncation. On the base of the SFB were numerous stake-holes, and the surface had a distinctive trampled surface. The building was dated by a fragment of a double-sided bone comb, annular

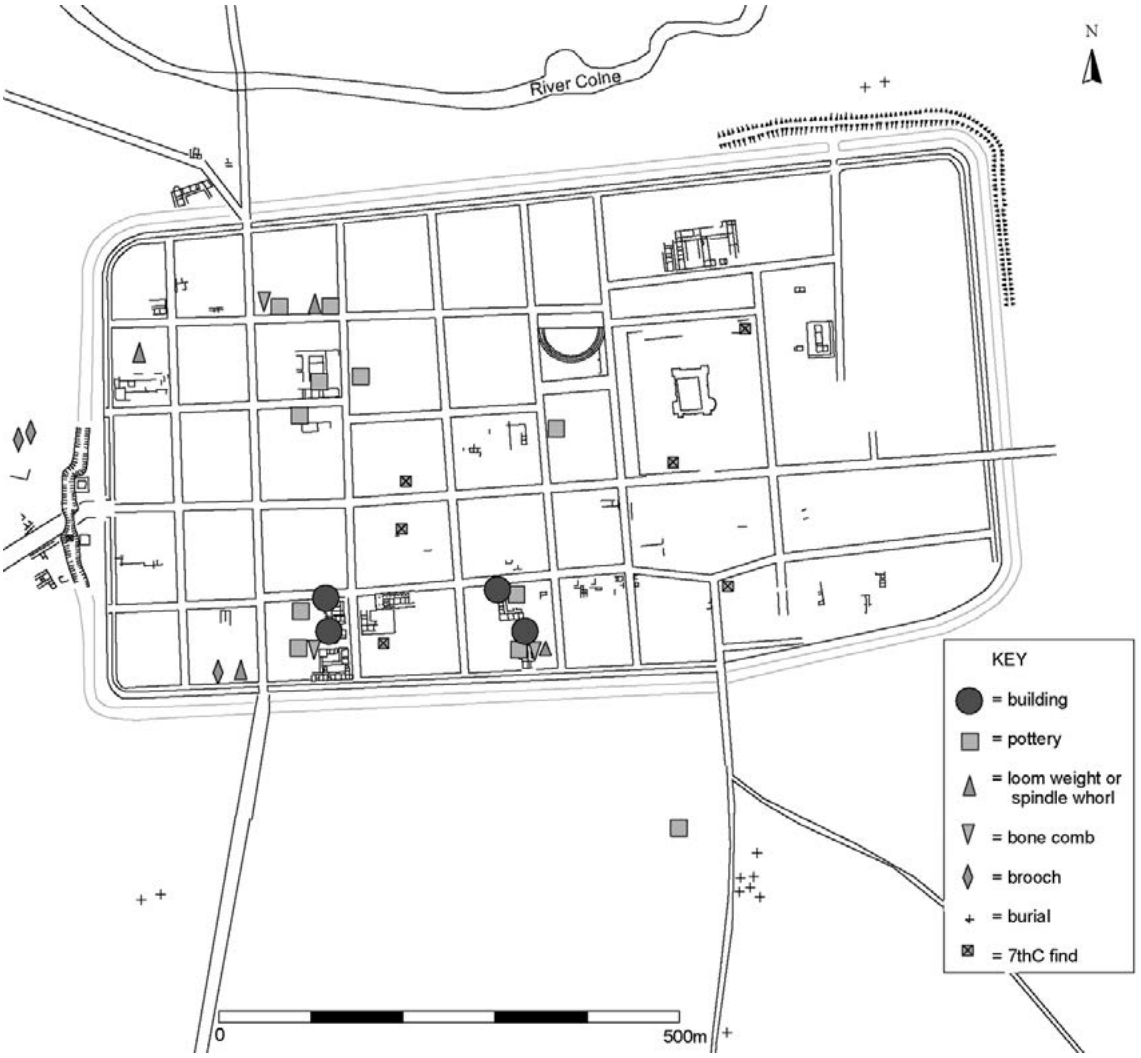


Figure 14: 5th- to 7th-century settlement evidence within Colchester (drawn by author, based on data from Colchester UAD and Crummy 1981: fig.2)

loomweight, spindlewhorl, and over 20 sherds of (mostly) grass-tempered pottery. 'Hut 3' at Culver Street was built through a tessellated pavement of Room 4 in Building 113, and overlay Roman demolition layers. The SFB measured 3.9 x 3.1m, and was a two-post type, 0.6m deep. Like 'Hut 1', 80 stake-holes were spread across the base (Crummy *et al*. 1993: 118-20). The two buildings have a similar form, and Crummy (1981: 22) interprets them as weaving sheds, the stake-holes indicating one or more loom positions.

The other main group of finds lies in the North Hill area, comprising sherds of Anglo-Saxon pottery (Crummy 1981: 6), a bone comb (*ibid*: 6), and bone spindle whorl (Hull 1958: 79). The excavations have all been very small-scale, which may explain why no structural evidence has been found to go with the artefactual evidence.

There is good evidence for burials outside of the town walls in at least three zones – the north-east, outside Duncan's Gate; the south-east, along the South Gate road; and the south-west, along the Head Gate road. These are all in areas of former late Roman cemeteries. The north-east burials (dug in the 1970s) consisted of two burials with brooches, beads, a coin of Valens with a double piercing, and a silver ring, one burial belonged to a woman in her 70s (Crummy 1981: 10-12). Were these part of a much larger cemetery or an area for high-status burials (these will have been very visible on high ground overlooking the river below)? Interestingly, weapons of 7th- to 9th-century date have been found in the River Colne – either ritual activity or accidental loss (*ibid*:19, 23). Numerous high-status burials are known in the Butt Road area to the south-west. Many spearheads and arrowheads were found in the mid-19th century, with types ranging in date from early 4th- to 5th-centuries, but also with examples of the later 7th century (*ibid*: 13). Similar examples come from the burials in the south-east (*ibid*: 15-17). The burial evidence points to an ongoing urban population, with people of varying status clearly being drawn to the old Roman town, perhaps hinting that Colchester was a royal centre.

Thus, based on current available evidence, Anglo-Saxon settlement within Colchester appears focused in areas away from the old civic centre of the Roman town – i.e. away from the large ruinous public buildings that may have presented a dangerous or cluttered place to occupy. Settlement instead focused on the urban fringes, close to the town defences to the south, in areas that were open in the later 4th century (i.e. the Culver St / Lion Walk area); there may have also been some settlement focus in the North Hill area. The town defences would have still been upstanding, though the town ditch at Balkerne Gate appears virtually completely backfilled by the 7th century as numerous grass-tempered pottery sherds of the 7th-century came from the top fill of the ditch (Crummy 1981: 17).

The archaeological evidence for the period AD 300-600 within the smaller settlements in the region of Colchester is more uneven and patchy. However, if looked at together, enough evidence exists to suggest settlement sequences.

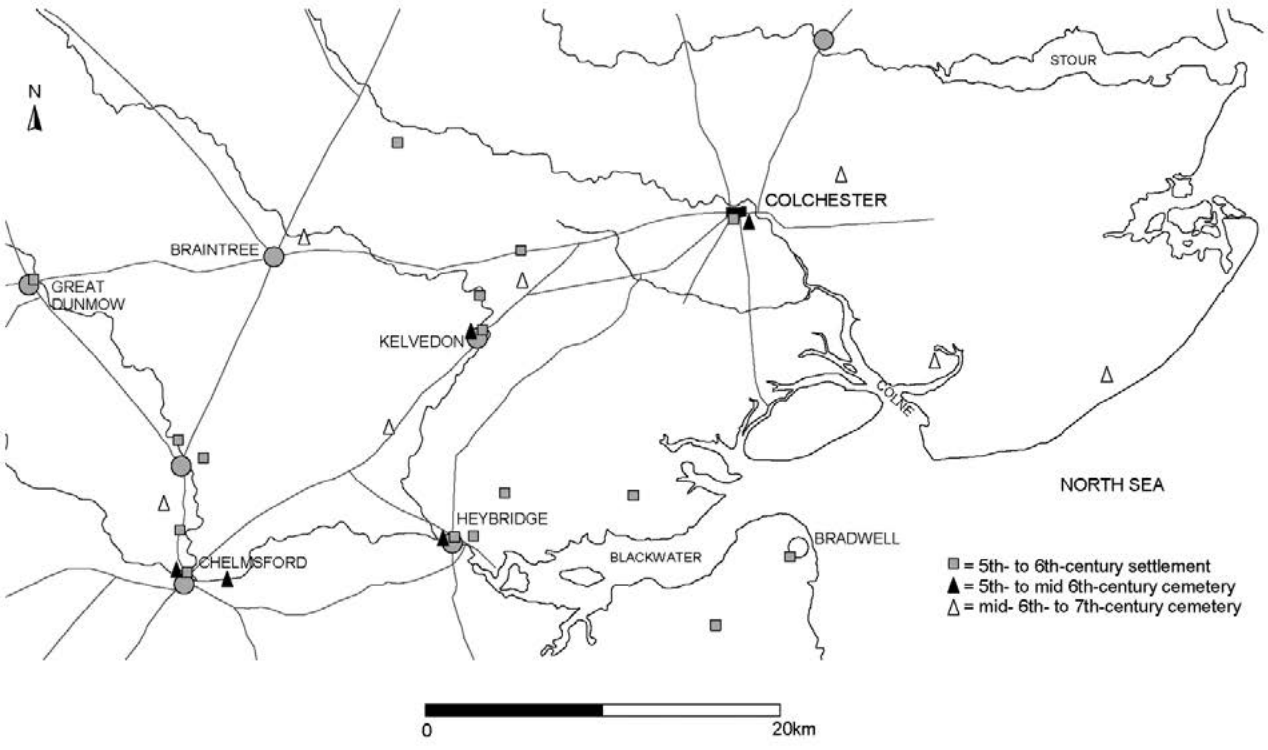


FIGURE 15: EARLY ANGLO-SAXON ACTIVITY IN THE REGION OF COLCHESTER IN RELATION TO FORMER ROMAN TOWNS (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, DATA FROM ESSEX HER; RODWELL 1988; AND BAKER 2001)

Indeed the Roman/Anglo-Saxon transition in this region is highlighted as a key area of research following an increase in excavated evidence in recent years (Medlycott and Brown 2009: 68). Data from this period were briefly looked at 30 years ago (Buckley 1980) and subsequently assessed in Kemble (2001). More recently this region has been subject to PhD research: J. Baker (2001; 2006) assessed the archaeological evidence from the Chilterns and Essex region, and focused on place-name evidence; and B. Morris (2005) considered landscape change over a wider Roman to medieval timeframe. How do sequences compare with those in Colchester?

Settlement evidence of the 5th to 6th centuries ('Early Anglo-Saxon') in fact emerges at most of these sites. 'Anglo-Saxon' pottery and glass has been found on various 'Roman' villas within the county. Kemble argues that this represents a continued Romano-British population using more current or 'modern merchandise' (2001:107). An interesting continuity is seen in extra-mural cemeteries featuring both 'Roman' and 'Anglo-Saxon' burials at four of the small settlements – also mirrored at Colchester. Regarding the presence of Anglo-Saxon burials in the same location as late Roman cemeteries, Rodwell concludes that: 'a reasonable case can be made for continued use rather than casual reuse…' (1988: 137). Both Jones (1980: 87) and Dark (1994: 25) argue that the lack of Anglo-Saxon evidence beyond some river valleys and the margins of the region, supports the view that Anglo-Saxon influence was limited in this region. However, from the evidence reviewed above, finds of a 'Anglo-Saxon' type do come from various towns in this area. Perhaps 'Anglo-Saxon' influence was found early on along the coast, river valleys, and within pre-existing 'Roman' settlements. This in fact shows little divergence from Roman patterns of land use – giving, perhaps, weight to the view of a general continuity. If there was an arrival of new peoples, they were not overall creating new sites.

The Early 7th Century

7th-century finds evidence (the handmade pottery being replaced by grass-tempered vessels from the 6th or 7th century onwards – see Cotter 2000: 353) seems broadly spread around Colchester's High Street area – noticeably located away from the two early areas of settlement occupation discussed above. Mid-Anglo-Saxon pottery comes from this area (Cotter 2000: 353), along with coins, including a sceatta of AD 673-685 at Head Street, close to the gate (Brooks 2000b), and a thrymsa of AD 670-690 close to South Gate (Crummy 1981: 8) (see figure 20). High Street became the principal area of urban growth from the late Anglo-Saxon period, whereas few other Roman streets survived into the medieval period, other than Head St and North St.

Altering Settlement Forms: Colchester AD 300-600

Based on the above evidence and discussions, the following settlement sequences are proposed for Colchester:

- AD 300-325. Re-fortified, suburb contraction.
- AD 325-350. Urban contraction, open spaces, Christian?
- AD 350-450. Further contraction, public buildings disused.
- AD 450+. Dispersed non-urban 'rural' settlement

In sum, the character of Roman Colchester begun to change dramatically in the late 3rd century with major alterations to the town defences, along with a contraction of some of the suburbs. In the early 4th century pagan temples persist, if alongside a likely church presence immediately south of the town. There are substantial numbers of people buried in the cemetery close to the town – these probably including non-urban residents – which could signify an increasing population in the mid- to late 4th century. Contrasting with this, after AD 325 the evidence points to a much reduced intra-mural population: some townhouses were still active, and public buildings continue in use, yet areas exist where soils are forming over previously demolished buildings – as apparent large open cultivated areas. The so-called 'dark earth', consisting of dumped refuse material, shows a population making this rubbish. After AD 350 there was a more dispersed settlement with large open areas, and a higher proportion of timber structures. A large timber barn and cultivated areas may have given the town a more 'ruralised' appearance. From the mid-5th century 'Anglo-Saxon' or sub-Roman presences are characterised by a small number of Sunken-Featured Buildings and scattered finds located in areas that had formed open areas of the town in the late 4th century, away from the larger – and upstanding – but ruinous public buildings in the town centre. Noticeably, people were still buried in the same cemeteries / areas outside of the town, suggesting continued burial practices and traditions by the resident population.

3.4 Canterbury

Canterbury is situated in Kent in South-East England. Being very close to the North Sea and the English Channel (the coast is just 10km to the north and 20km east), it is closer to the Continent than all other areas of England. The Roman town (*Durovernum Cantiacorum*) lies in the River Stour valley, at a river crossing. Canterbury was at the centre of a major trade route throughout the Roman period with a network of roads from the coast, and onwards to London, 85km to the north-west.

The Archaeological Resource

Most of Canterbury's excavations came in the immediate post-war years in the 1940s and 1950s, many undertaken by Frere (Frere 1947). These were of a very small scale, often located within cellars of bombed-out buildings. Yet the evidence revealed and the detailed recording have produced many useful data (see also Frere *et al.* 1982, 1987, Frere and Stow 1982). Since then, the most extensive excavations have focused in the south-eastern quadrant, but with areas to the north, south, and west

largely un-investigated. The largest excavations were the Marlowe Car Park sites in 1978-80 (Blockley *et al.* 1995) and Whitefriars in 1999-2003 (Hicks and Houliston 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004). Numerous investigations are undertaken by Canterbury Archaeological Trust (CAT) and summaries appear in the *CAT Annual Reports* and local journal *Archaeologia Cantiana*. Few Roman public buildings have been excavated, with only small parts of the temple precinct (Blagg 1982), theatre (Frere 1970), and baths (Wacher 1974: 178) investigated. The same applies to private buildings: generally only very small parts of buildings are discovered, apart from examples found at Marlowe and Whitefriars. The Urban Archaeological Database contains general information of the various excavations and finds (www.canterbury.gov.uk).

Origins and Development

The late Iron Age settlement at Canterbury was called *Durovernon* and lay at the crossing with the Stour. In the mid-1st century AD Rome founded one of the first *civitas* capitals: Durovernum Cantiacorum (Harmsworth 2004: 1). From AD 80-100 major development occurred with many timber buildings constructed (Wacher 1974: 178), along with the forum (Frere *et al*. 1987: 93). In the early to mid-2nd century the theatre (Frere 1970), baths (Wacher 1974: 180), and temple precinct (Blagg 1982: 52) were all built.

The theatre was re-modelled in the mid-3rd century (Frere 1970). The town wall was constructed not long after, enclosing 53ha, and likely cut off a thriving area of the town to the north (the street grid continues beyond the river Stour), suggesting some contraction of settlement (Blagg 1982: 54). Millett sees little evidence for large townhouses across the Roman period (Millett 2007: 166), implying no large or wealthy population. Nor, surprisingly, is much commercial activity evident, and many rural and productive sites lay well away from Canterbury (Blockley 1995: 10), mainly further north along Watling Street (Figure 22).

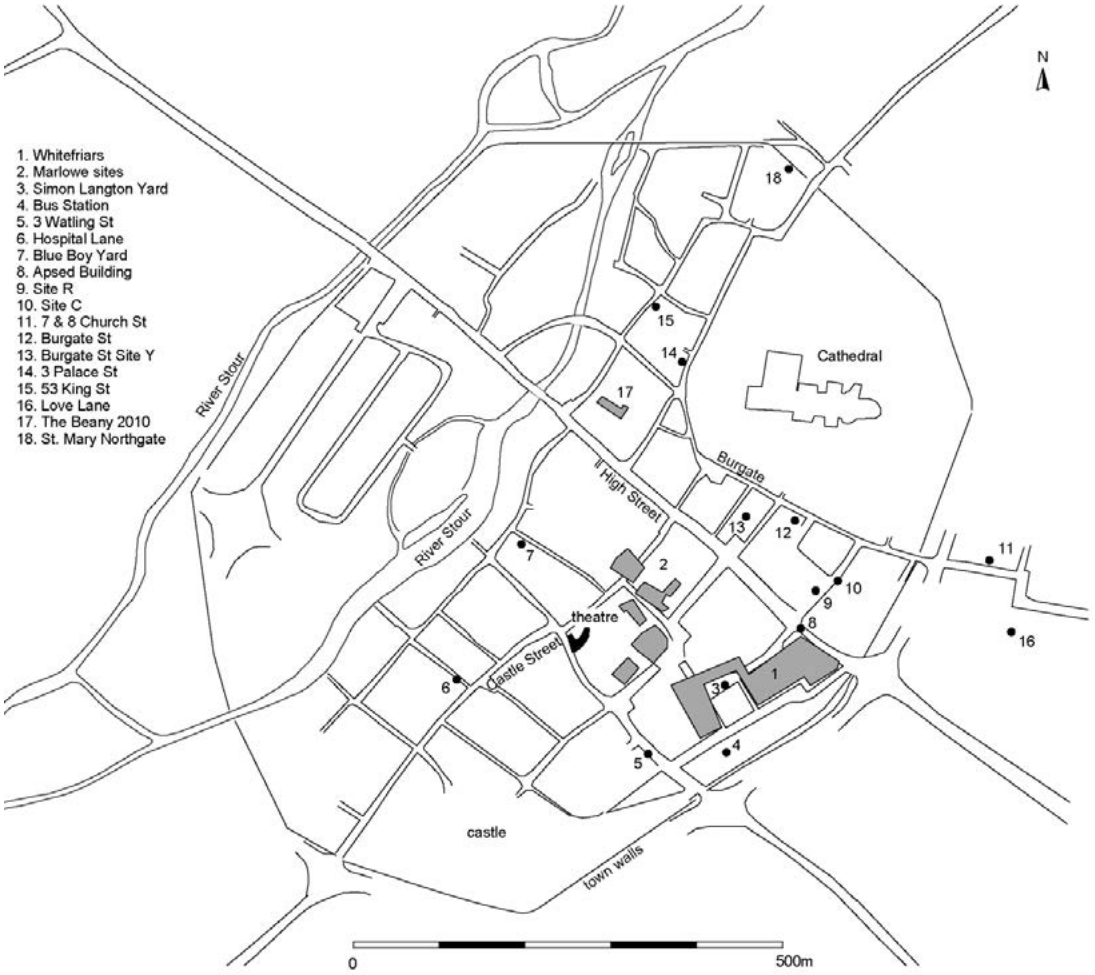


FIGURE 16: KEY EXCAVATIONS IN CANTERBURY (DRAWN BY AUTHOR)

The 4th Century

Late Roman Canterbury offers a mixed image, with particularly good evidence for the reuse of masonry structures into smaller timber buildings. It is the archaeological remains of the 5th and 6th centuries in which the town truly excels, with over 40 SFBs so far discovered. The current mainly history-driven interpretation (Blockley *et al.* 1995) is one of short abandonment for a decade or two between AD 430-450, after which areas of the town were resettled, by incomers with new building forms. This settlement is viewed as being nucleated and ad hoc, and it is claimed that only with the arrival of Augustine after AD 597 did the settlement begin to take on a more planned appearance following the establishment of the churches within the town. In truth, too little is known of the 7th to 8th centuries (Millett 2007: 180).

Town Defences

The town defences belong to AD 270-290, as dated by a coin of Tetricus I found in excavations of walling at Burgate Lane (Frere *et al.* 1982: 36), and a coin of Victorinus found under rubble over the partly robbed town wall at Dane John Mound (*ibid*: 68). The stone wall, earth rampart, and ditch ran for a length of 2.7 km, enclosing 53ha. The rampart was 7.5m wide (half the size of Verulamium's) and at least 2.25m in height. It is uncertain if the ditch extended along the river edge on the north side. Unusually parts of the facing stones of the wall reused old building stone, two instances being known: one on the north side of Riding Gate where the southern half of the tower re-used stone of varied size (*ibid*: 43), and the other on the north wall nave of the church of St. Mary Northgate. At the latter, a few fragments of reused material included a

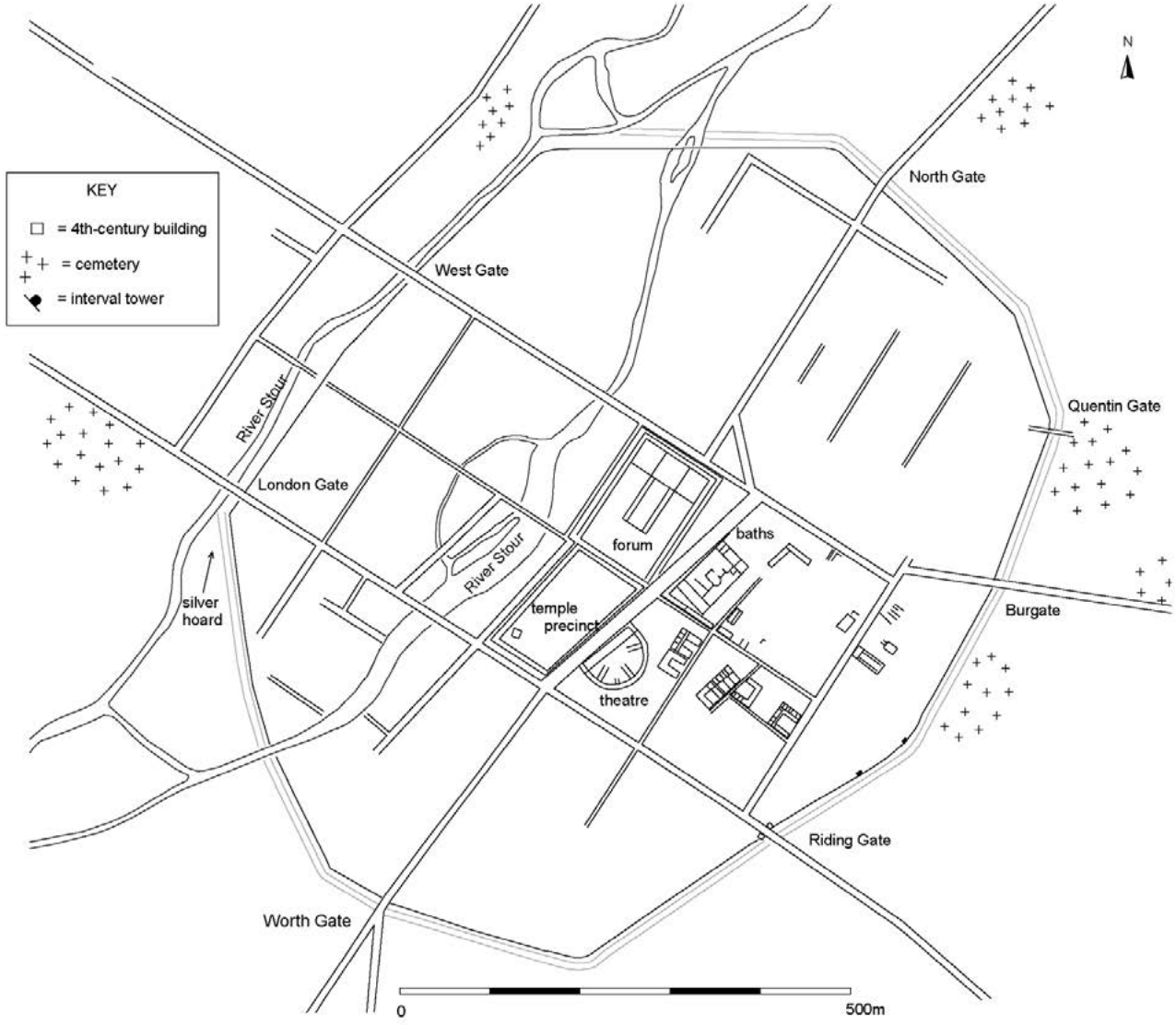


Figure 17: 4th-century Canterbury (drawn by author, updated from Blockley *et al.* 1995: fig.2)

large lump of *opus signinum* with tessellated floor still attached to it (*ibid*: 83). Built at the same time were internal interval towers – identified at Bus Station (*ibid*: 17-20, 33, 61-2; Blockley 1989: 134), Whitefriars (Hicks and Houliston 2001: 7), and south of St. Georges Street (Hicks and Houliston 2004: 292) these often interpreted as artillery platforms (Johnson 1979: 124). Around AD 322 one carriageway was blocked at Riding Gate, and the area used for metalworking (Blockley 1989: 128-130). Modifications came in the mid-4th century, with external towers added. Two are known: at Dane John Mound and at Old Cattle Market (Frere *et al.* 1982: 18). The ditch was re-dug to a much larger size – 5.3m rather than 2.4-3m – and both the earth rampart and wall were also heightened (*ibid*: 17, 67-8).

Public Structures

The *forum* has only been partially excavated, but is thought to have seen some reconstruction between AD 350-400 (Frere *et al.* 1987: 93). However, an element of it may have been dismantled within the later 4th century, as two structures built just to the north contained large stone blocks in their foundations that likely came from a public building (Canterbury Archaeology Trust 2011). The theatre was rebuilt and enlarged in the late 3rd or early 4th century; it remained upstanding until robbed of building material in the 12th century (Frere 1970: 91). The temple precinct area shows continued use into the 4th century: between AD 250-350 the *temenos* was reconstructed and the courtyard re-metalled. Although by AD 360 the temple was demolished, yet the courtyard continued to be re-metalled. At some later date the portico was demolished. Overlying these deposits was dark earth (Bennett and Nebiker 1989: 285-6). The baths at St. Margaret's Street had a major rebuild in the early 4th century before falling redundant by AD 350. Subsequently the building was reused for industrial activities, with evidence for a long sequence of timber structures running into the early 5th century (Blockley *et al.* 1995: 171). The baths on St. George's Street were renovated around AD 355 and new rooms added; this remained active until AD 360 when a fire prompted abandonment (Frere and Stow 1983: 29-39).

Housing

There are around 25 4th-century private structures excavated, although for the majority only small wall sections have been discovered, making interpretation and dating very problematic (see Table 11). However, at Marlowe Theatre and Whitefriars, the image is most developed, offering evidence for numerous timber buildings encroaching onto streets, indicating major changes in civic regulations. At Marlowe Car Park two large townhouses were active throughout the 4th century (Figure 18). Building R38 was only abandoned by AD 370, and the large townhouse in Area MIII (once a high-status building with private baths) saw a series of circular furnaces inserted around AD 350 (Blockley *et al.* 1995: 171). Such reuse also occurs in Areas MIV, MT, and R26A where 5 timber structures were built within upstanding ruinous masonry buildings and over areas of dismantled buildings (*ibid*: 188). After AD 375 further timber structures (20m in length) were built over part of a street. Their regular spacing and size indicate a planned build – perhaps a series of shop units, since there was evidence for bone-pin manufacturing and some of the timber buildings reused *opus signinum* for flooring (*ibid*: 172). The coins date to AD 388-402, while evidence for two phases perhaps indicates usage into the 5th century (*ibid*: 172).

A similar pattern of timber structures occupying larger masonry buildings was seen at the Whitefriars excavations: at Gravel Walk rooms within a large 3rd-century townhouse were remodelled (Hicks and Houliston 2003: 5). Two phases of timber buildings, set inside a ruinous 3rd-century building, were discovered at St. Georges St. The coins also suggest a late 4th- to early 5th-century date (Hicks and Houliston 2001: 5). Elsewhere at Whitefriars a timber structure was built across the west side of a street, with the street subsequently re-metalled in the late 4th century, before dark earth sealed the final street metallings (Hicks and Houliston 2003: 7).

Soils and Space

Dark earth has been discovered on numerous sites across the town. The main interpretation here is that it developed as a consequence of midden development in open areas (perhaps as communal dumps), presumably indicating reductions and contractions of settlement. Like other towns, dark earth accumulated at different times in various areas (Blockley *et al.* 1995: 262). Of the four areas excavated at Marlowe, only in one is dark earth believed to have begun forming in the 4th century (Area MI, *ibid*: 263); at the other three an early 5th-century date is proposed. At the Marlow sites there was a higher proportion of building material and pottery fragments, whereas at the temple precinct the dark earth was homogenous throughout, implying more intensive use (*ibid*: 262). At Beer Cart Lane (within the precinct), the dark earth was very thin, and the interpretation was that this area formed a cattle enclosure in the Anglo-Saxon period (Pratt 1999: 6) – an interesting idea, but one not backed up by environmental evidence (there has been no detailed micromorphological analysis on these soils).

Street maintenance is evident in some areas: a brick-lined sewer was constructed along the street in Area MIII at Marlowe Car Park (Blockley *et al.* 1995: 171); a street was re-metalled into the late 4th century at Whitefriars (Hicks and Houliston 2004: 7); and a street widened towards the palaestra (Blockley *et al.* 1995: 171).

Religious Structures and Burials

The temples within the precinct are believed to have continued in use up to AD 360 (Bennett and Nebiker 1989: 285). Probably after this a large paved area was constructed of various reused building materials and spread over parts

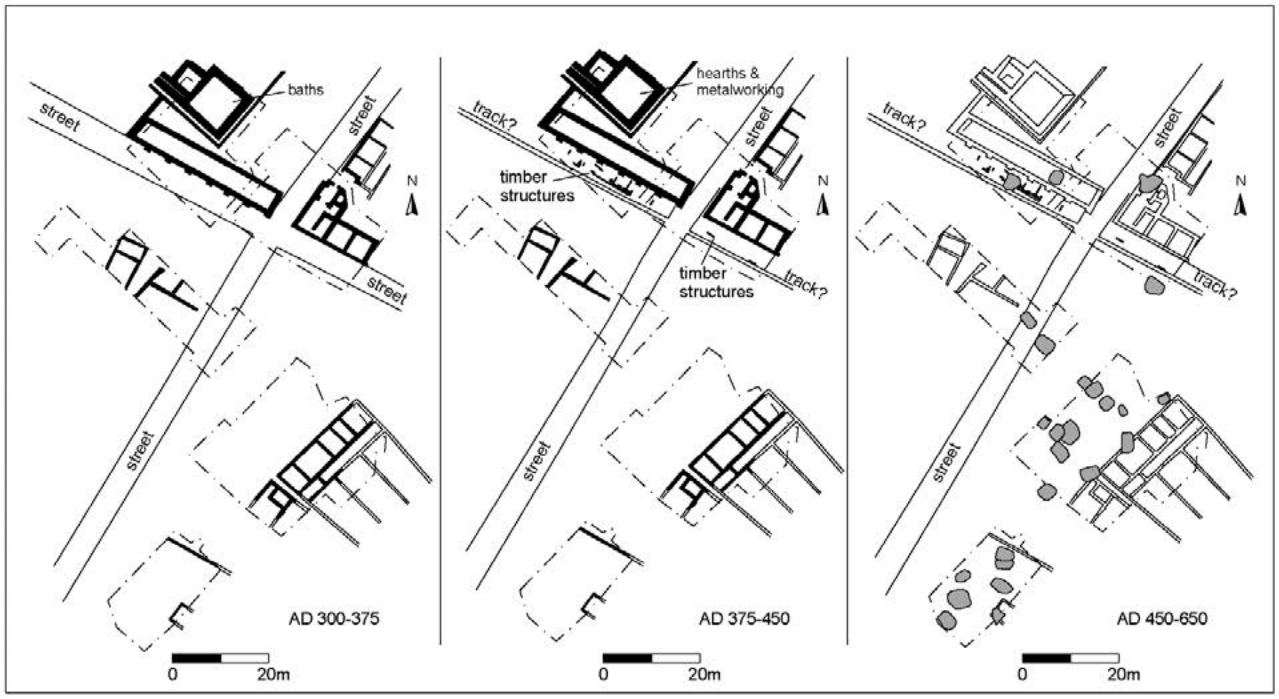


Figure 18: Plan showing structural sequence at Marlowe Car Park, Canterbury. The grey shaded features are Sunken-Featured Buildings (redrawn by author, after Blockley *et al*. 1995: 171)

of the temple precinct area and close to the *forum* (Bennett and Nebiker 1989: 285). This could denote a market area (there were substantial quantities of coins found), but Rogers prefers to view this as an area of particular religious significance, the gravel surface being suited for ceremonies or large gatherings (2011: 125). Thick levels of dark earth contained late Roman artefacts and sealed the latest occupation phases (Blockley *et al.* 1995: 262).

There are late Roman inhumation cemeteries along the main route-ways outside the town walls in all directions (Figure 18). Few have been excavated, though in 2011 the largest cemetery yet investigated (137 burials) at 25-27 St Dunstan's Street seemed to commence only after the town defences were constructed (Gollop 2011: 12-15). Some cemeteries seem to show later burials that lie slightly closer to the town gates than the earlier cremation cemeteries (Millett 2007: 157, fig.5.15).

The presence of Christianity is hinted at by Bede's record of a Roman church in Canterbury (Bede II: i), although archaeological proof is awaited. However, a silver hoard, found just outside the town walls close to London Gate (Johns and Potter 1985), was probably deposited after AD 410 and contained 7 coins (one of Constantine III was clipped), silver ingots, and 12 silver spoons (*ibid:* 312). The tableware forms a typical assemblage of Christian silver (one of the spoons had a chi-rho symbol on the bowl). The deposit could be Church wealth buried for safety (*ibid*: 352). Another (perhaps more grounded) view suggests the ingots in the hoard belonged to residual Roman state officials (Millett 2007: 184).

The 5th and 6th Centuries

More Anglo-Saxon buildings have been discovered in Canterbury (Figure 19) than any other town in England, discovered in excavations since the 1940s, with the structures initially viewed as belonging to Germanic mercenaries (Frere 1966: 90-93). The 1980s excavations put more emphasis on the depopulation and abandonment of the Roman town, followed eventually by resettlement in the mid-5th century (Brooks 1988: 99; Blockley *et al.* 1995: 270). Interestingly, the most recent excavations have perhaps swung back to the earlier views of Frere, putting more of an emphasis on continuity (Bennett *et al*. 2003: 190).

The current total of Anglo-Saxon buildings excavated is just over 40 (Table 12), ranging in date and construction style from the mid-5th to 8th centuries and from Sunken-Featured Buildings (SFB) to Post-Built Structures (PBS). The Marlowe Car Park excavations revealed intercutting SFBs (Figure 18), enabling us to phase the structural sequence in some detail, rather than relying purely on poorly dated artefacts. Seven SFBs (along with a hearth and occupation soils) date to *c.*450 and were in use to around 500. These were aligned in two rows parallel to a Roman street and show evidence for some repair and alterations (Blockley *et al*. 1995: 271). These were replaced by five SFBs and two PBSs of AD 500-550 (*ibid*: 271), focused around a well. Six more structurally advanced SFBs and two PBSs (one in a demolished Roman building) were used from approximately AD 550-650 (*ibid*: 271). In Area MIV the buildings were still dictated by the Roman street, whereas in Area MI they remained centred on a well. A further five SFBs could only be broadly dated to the 5th to

6th centuries, along with wells and pits (*ibid*: 271). Some of the SFBs were built within decaying Roman buildings, some also adjacent to a Roman street. At Simon Langton Yard, six SFBs date to the 6th to 7th centuries and were more ordered, being aligned to a street (Blockley 1995: 271). At least seven SFBs of 5th- to 6th-century date were excavated during the Whitefriars excavations (Hicks and Houliston 2002, 2003, 2004). Some were built close to a Roman street, suggesting continued use, but others cut into Roman streets or lay well away from the street frontage. 'Several' SFBs were found at Hospital Lane – south of the Temple Precinct – indicating a more widespread settlement (Allen 2001). An extra-mural SFB, at Love Lane outside Burgate (Canterbury Archaeological Trust 2007: 294), might relate to the 7th-century Augustine's Abbey.

Most the SFBs in fact gathered in a single *insula*, indicating a fairly confined settlement, close to Riding Gate. Here the Roman masonry structures were already being reused by timber structures in the 4th century (Blockley *et al*. 1995: 171), and so it could be argued that the appearance of further timber buildings (albeit of a different construction style) would not have been out of place in this area in the late 4th or early 5th century. The key difference was that most of the earliest buildings were located away from the street frontages, in generally open areas (Hicks and Houliston 2003: 5). Of course, since excavations have focused most heavily on this area, the possibility exists that such settlement was more widespread; indeed, a recent excavation just north of the Roman forum has discovered at least one SFB and associated settlement evidence at The Beaney (Canterbury Archaeological Trust 2011).

Noticeably, the Roman street pattern did not survive into the medieval period, apart from areas defined by the town's gates. This indicates a loss of boundaries of urban properties along street frontages with collapsed walls and dark earth speeding up this process. Arguably this change was underway from the late 4th century. Since the Roman theatre stood until the late Anglo-Saxon period (Frere 1970: 91), it is possible that other major Roman public buildings – the *forum* and temple precinct – remained upstanding as ruins. Indeed, the medieval streets seemingly skirt around these areas. A more recent investigation of the theatre has shown heavily worn post-Roman street metalling though the theatre *(*Sparey-Green 2011).

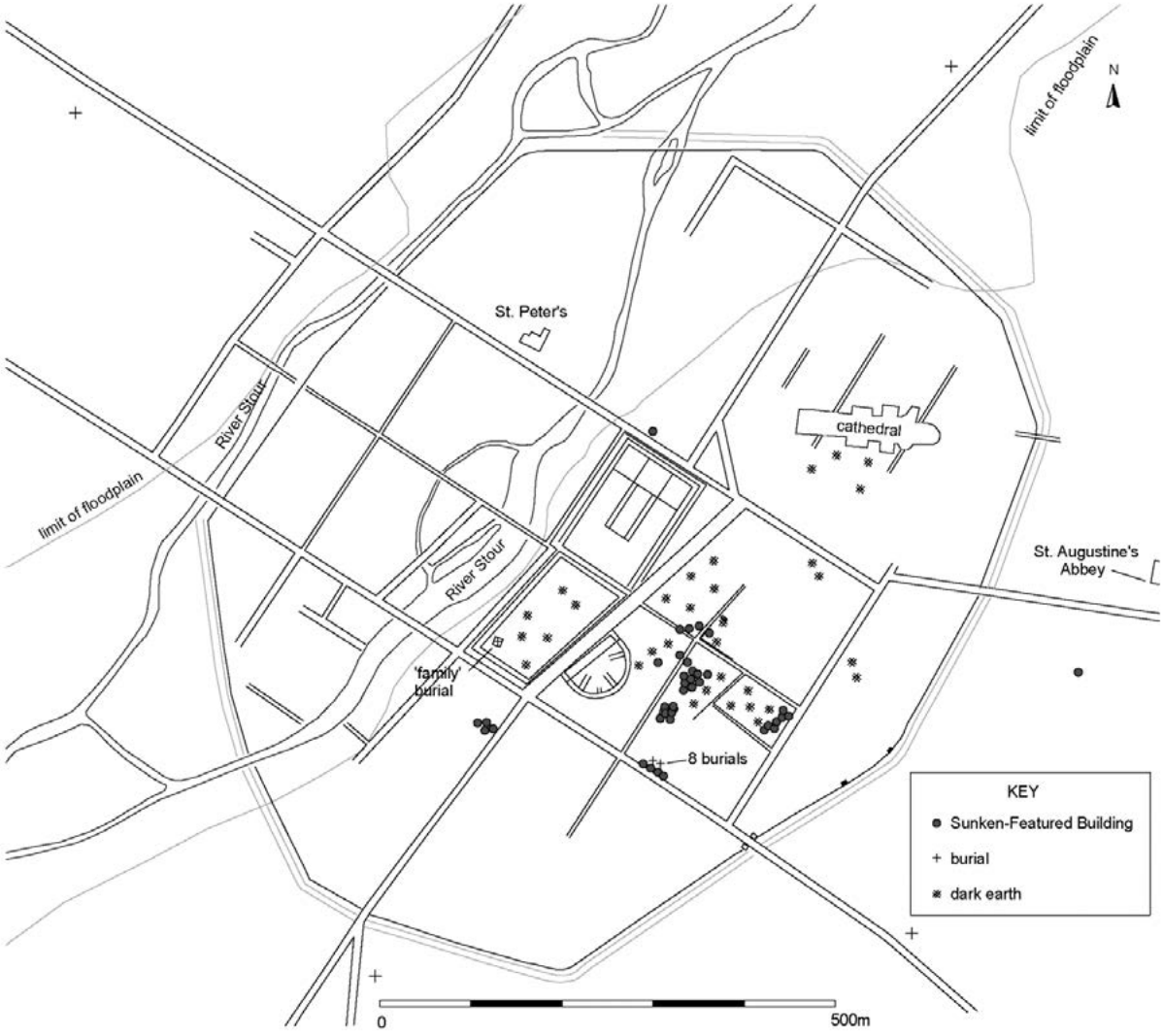


FIGURE 19: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF 5TH- TO 6TH-CENTURY CANTERBURY (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, UPDATED FROM BLOCKLEY *ET AL*. 1995: FIG.2)

There is partial evidence for 5th- to 6th-century use of Roman extra-mural cemeteries as indicated by occasional pagan burials and finds (Brooks 1984: 17) (Figure 19). However, burial also commenced in the intramural zone, with a 'family' burial in a single large pit at Stour Street (Bennett 1980, Figure 20). The bodies consist of two adults (a male and female aged 30-40) and two female children (aged 8 and 12), along with a dog (Harmsworth 2004: 29-30). The associated finds included bracelets, bangles, a razor (dated to AD 350-400), keys, and beads (three of amber suggesting a 5th-century date); together, these indicate burial in the early to mid-5th century. Articulated remains of eight individuals, only one buried carefully, and one buried face down were discovered at Whitefriars (Hicks and Houliston 2003: 6). These were provisionally dated to the late 4th century, though it is entirely possible that these are 5th-century.

In terms of the hinterland, the Roman road network continued to have an impact on settlement activity, with a focus along the major route-ways through Kent, on the best farmland, or close to the coast (Hawkes 1982; Welch 2007: 196, fig.6.5). There is no environmental evidence to suggest abandonment or any radical changes in land-use (*ibid:* 190).

The Early 7th Century

Early 7th-century *Cantwarabyrig* is well recorded in later historical texts (including Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle), in these it shows that Augustine was chosen by Pope Gregory the Great to convert Anglo-Saxon Britain to Christianity (Bede I: xxii). In AD 597 Augustine and his entourage arrived in Kent and founded a church at Canterbury: 'He and his followers settled in an inhabited place' (Blockley *et al*. 1995: 20). Kent was already a significant political force (allied with Francia), and the early kingdom is thought to have centred on east Kent (Welch 2007: 189), presumably with Canterbury at its centre. The Kingdom of Kent was probably chosen as the starting point because of its strong and close connections with Gaul, and the ruler, King AEthelberht, had recently married a Frankish Christian princess, Bertha (Brooks 1984: 18), who may well have initiated contact with Gregory.

St. Augustine's Abbey was located east of the town. The early 7th-century church was built of reused Roman masonry, and overlay dark earth and Roman building debris – this giving the church a platform c.1m above the surrounding area (*ibid*: 12). Another possible early church

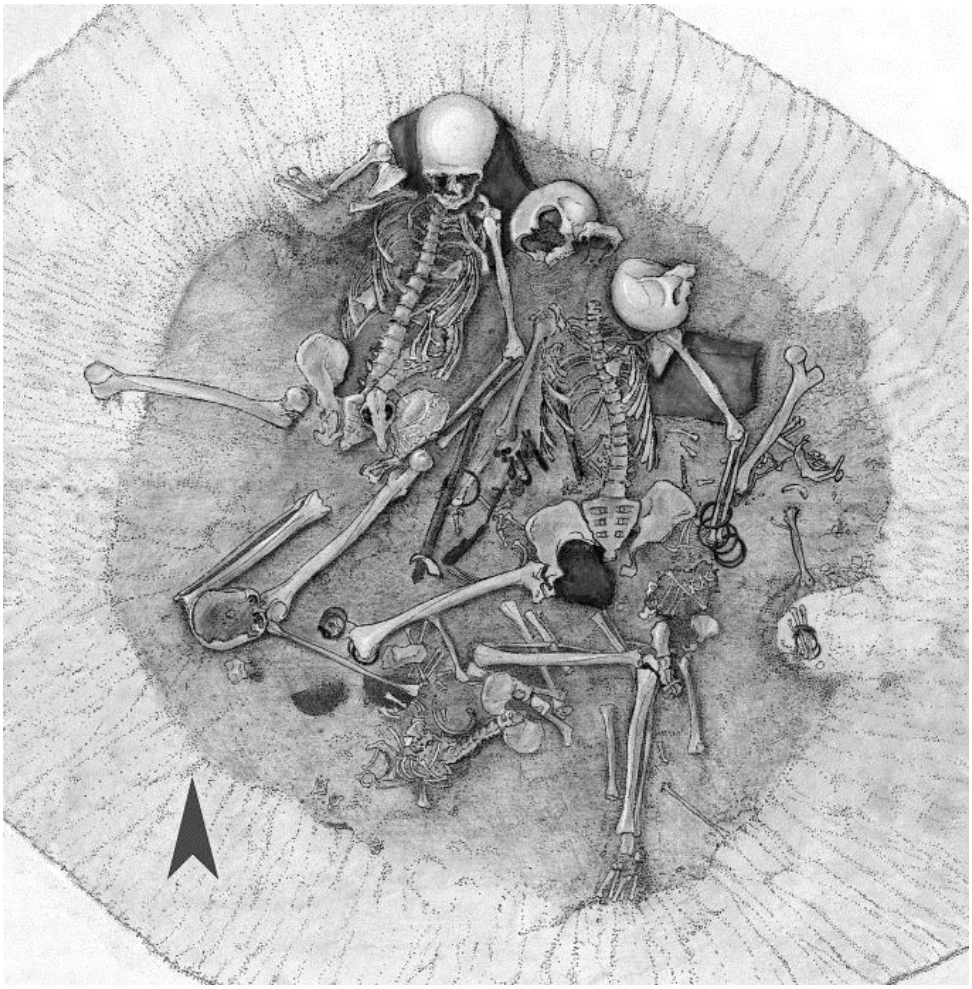


Figure 20: 'Family' burial in Stour Street, Canterbury (copyright Canterbury Archaeological Trust)

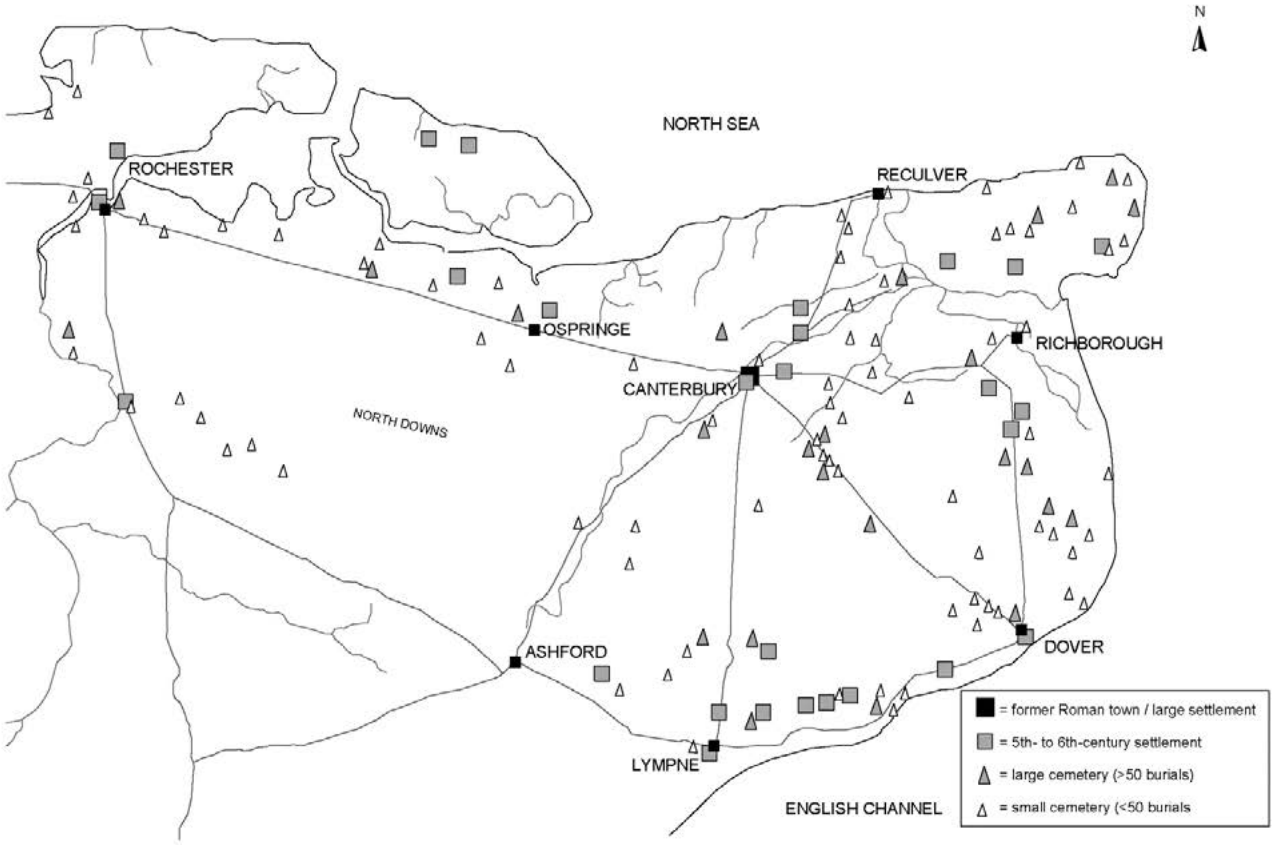


FIGURE 21: EARLY ANGLO-SAXON ACTIVITY COMPARED TO FORMER ROMAN URBAN SITES IN KENT (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, DATA FROM KENT HER; AND WELSH 2007: 197)

is St. Peter's, built on the alignment of a Roman street rather than the medieval street pattern (Brooks 1984: 17) in the north-west of the internal space.

During this period the domestic buildings discovered at Marlowe Car Park were becoming more regularly spaced with parallel alignments, indicating a planned settlement morphology (Blockley *et al*. 1995: 310). The structures were much larger and were chiefly Post-Built Structures. By AD 630 the royal town had its first mint (*ibid*: 350), denoting a period of major investment, and wider continental contacts.

Altering Settlement Forms: Canterbury AD 300-600

Based on the above evidence and discussions, the following settlement sequences are proposed for Canterbury:

- AD 300-350. Urban continuity, newly fortified.
- AD 350-450. Renewed defences, public building reuse, open spaces, more timber housing
- AD 450-600. Dispersed non-urban 'rural'
- AD 600+. Renewed 'urbanism'

In the 4th century Canterbury's defences were modified with new external towers and an enlarged ditch, and one carriageway was blocked at Riding Gate. The *forum*, theatre, and temple precinct show use throughout the 4th century, while the public baths fall out of their original use by *c*.350, after which the building was reused for industrial activities. There were few large private buildings. By around AD 350 much more timber housing is evident, either reusing ruinous masonry structures, or utilising the edge of streets. The temples within the defences are believed to have continued in use up to AD 360. Dumped deposits of dark earth are known across the town, likely indicating a reduction and contraction of settlement. The settlement seemingly fails as a town in the early 5th century, by the mid-5th century the settlement has the appearance of a nucleated rural settlement. New peoples then appear, bringing with them new building styles and material culture. It is a fluid settlement, though the main focus appears to have been in the south-east area. There is renewed activity from the end of the 6th century, following Augustine's visit and establishment of the church in AD 597.

3.5 Summary

In summary, the three case study towns in the South-East of England (London, Colchester, and Canterbury) share broad similarities of urban transformations from the period AD 300-600 – and especially so in the 4th century. Yet each offer contrasting patterns of settlement, certainly after AD 400.

From the beginning of the 4th century all of these towns possessed newly modified or constructed town defences,

with some cost to the suburban spaces. Public services continued, and there was a mixture of both high and low status private housing. Colchester is unusual in that it seems to show an early urban contraction from AD 325. From *c.* AD 350 there were significant changes within all the towns: the focus was on maintaining and improving the town defences, while some of the public buildings lost their primary roles and were put to use for industrial activities or rubbish disposal. All the towns appear to contract in size, with more open spaces often forming wasteland or else used for cultivation. There is some indication of an emergent Christian population in all towns, although generally all church identifications are disputed.

Following the official withdrawal of Roman control around AD 410 each of the three towns show differing trajectories. Broadly, London failed as a settlement, by the early 5th century the focus of occupation having drifted away from the Roman town to new (Christian?) foci. In contrast, at both Colchester and Canterbury the old towns remained a draw for people to live in, as seen in the appearance of new building styles and material culture of an 'Anglo-Saxon' type. This denotes a major change in the archaeological evidence, yet not necessarily a major change in the settlement type. However, these mid-5th- and 6th-century 'towns' appear more like rural nucleated settlements with clusters of timber housing in once urban contexts, though perhaps not remarkably dissimilar to the late 4th- and early 5th-century Roman towns. As seen at Canterbury, though, new excavations can – and no doubt will – modify our image of sub/post-Roman urbanised activity.

Chapter 4:

Urban Sequences in the South-West

Figure 22: Case studies and settlement types in South-West Britain (drawn by author)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the transformations of three of the major Romano-British towns in the South-West of England from *c.* AD 300 - c. 600. This region of Roman Britain, also had a relatively dense network of major towns, consisting of eight *civitas* capitals: Cirencester (capital of Britannia Prima in the late Roman period), Gloucester, Caerwent, Silchester, Winchester, Chichester, Dorchester and Exeter, all connected by a coherent road system and smaller settlements. The three towns of Cirencester, Silchester, and Winchester are the best explored archaeologically, and accordingly form the primary case studies. Each of these reveal similarities in terms of development and then contraction. The South-West has long been recognised as a region containing the longest surviving traces of a 'Roman' style of society beyond the 4th century seen in its towns and rural settlements, with a prominent villa landscape especially in the 4th century (White 2008). However, each town under study shows differing trajectories from the early 5th century onwards, one with evidence for a (perhaps stunted) longevity of 'Roman' settlement (Silchester), another with evidence for renewal by 'Anglo-Saxon' settlement (Winchester), and the other appearing to show a massively reduced or failed settlement (Cirencester). Other large towns like Exeter, Gloucester, and Caerwent, and smaller settlements in the region have been more patchily investigated, but do offer interesting snippets of data that are incorporated into Chapters 6 and 7. As with Chapter 3, we explore the archaeological evidence of each town in turn and question en route the images of survival and endurance of various components of the urban fabric.

4.2 Cirencester

Cirencester is located in south-east Gloucestershire, at the southern edge of the Cotswold Hills in the valley of

the river Churn. To the east is open flat ground leading into the Upper Thames Valley, while to the west are the limestone uplands (Darvill and Gerrard 1994: 26). The Roman town of Corinium Dobunnorum was probably the political and administrative capital of the Dobunni. Included within this zone was the colonia of Gloucester (Glevvm) located c.25km north-west, though this was likely to have been self-governing (*ibid*: 57). Bath (Aquae Sulis) lay c.45km south-west, and Silchester a more distant c.70km south-east. Interestingly there were few small Roman towns, the landscape instead being more densely populated by villas and rural settlements.

The Archaeological Resource

Victorian interest in Cirencester's past focused strongly on extracting the well-preserved mosaics (Cosh and Neal 2010) found across the town and in villas within the surrounding area. There were some excavations of the basilica, and the early investigations and discoveries were summarised by Haverfield (1920). Post-war development in the later 1940s and 1950s resulted in many new discoveries. By 1958 the Cirencester Excavation Committee was set up by some major names in British archaeology including Ian Richmond, Shephard Frere, and Graham Webster. It continued to operate until 1989, undertaking most of Cirencester's major excavations (Holbrook 1998: 2). The peak period of work was from 1959 to 1975, during which time Wacher directed work at, for example, Verulamium Gate (Wacher 1961, 1962, 1963) and Alan McWhirr directed the mid-1970s sites including The Beeches (McWhirr 1986), and a large cemetery outside Bath Gate (McWhirr 1982, see also Reece and Catling 1975). These excavations attempted to use urban single context recording – the early beginnings of an urban archaeology methodological practice that was to become standard across the country from the 1980s onwards. In contrast, the 1980s saw few excavations, with the focus on bringing to publication the vast backlog of excavation data. Post-PPG16, a professional commercial archaeological unit was set up – the Cotswold Archaeological Trust, now Cotswold Archaeology – in 1989. This completed the various post-excavation projects of the 1960s and 1970s (Holbrook 1998), and undertook new work in the area (Holbrook 2008: 12). Discoveries from 1998-2007 were summarised recently in a publication that celebrated 50 years of the Cirencester Excavation Committee (Holbrook 2008).

shows all the excavations within the town from the 1950s onwards, and clearly indicates that work within Cirencester throughout the 1990s and 2000s has been small-scale and low in number. Around 5.7% of the intra-mural area has been excavated, though this figure is deceptively low given the vast size of the town defences – enclosing a full *c*.96ha. The areas excavated are actually quite large, and comparable with Leicester; however, the excavations are scatter-shot, leaving many large unexplored areas.

Origins and Development

Cirencester was the site of an early military fort, in use from the mid-1st century to AD 70 (Wacher 1974: 294). Conversion to a town began shortly after and the later 1st century saw the street grid, the *forum* – the largest in Britannia (Simmonds and Smith 2008) – along with a *macellum*, numerous houses and shops, and an amphitheatre built 800m south-west of the town (Holbrook 1998a). The 2nd century saw a specialist market area and shops (Holbrook 1998c: 177-210), the reinforcement of the amphitheatre in masonry (Holbrook 1998b: 145-177), and growth in masonry private housing, many featuring mosaics. The forum was reconstructed after some subsidence (Holbrook and Timby: 99-121). A theatre located close to Gloucester Gate at the north-end of the town also likely dates to this period (Holbrook and Thomas 1998: 142). The town defences consisting of an earth rampart bank and ditch were constructed towards the end of the 2nd century (Wacher and Salvatore 1998: 302), and enhanced by a stone wall after AD 220 (*ibid*: 302), probably between AD 240-270 (White 2007: 104). The town defences ran for a length of 3.6 km (Wacher and Salvatore 1998: 96), making Cirencester second only to London in size.

The 4th Century

By the end of the 3rd century Cirencester had most likely become the administrative capital of *Britannia Prima* (Wacher 1974: 305; White 2007: 36). The town has good enough evidence to show that it was continuing to grow in the first half of the 4th century, although after AD 350 there seems to have been population reduction and urban decay.

Town Defences

The town defences were modified in the early 4th century, when the stone wall was rebuilt or repaired. This involved widening the curtain wall from 1.2m to 3m by cutting back into the rampart (Wacher 1974: 302). Around AD 350 major additions were made to the defences: external polygonal and square bastion towers were added on all sides, although seemingly not at regular intervals (Wacher and Salvatore 1998: 35-98). A total of 13 bastions have been discovered; all are around 5-6m wide, and had solid bases, some reused stone blocks (Figure 25). These later bastions projected outwards over the edge of the inner ditch, and the river Churn is thought to have been diverted into the outer ditch, while the inner ditch may have silted up (Wacher and Salvatore 1998: 43). Although the bastions are undated, Wacher has argued that they were contemporary with the flood prevention work and a gate tower at Verulamium Gate that are both dated to after AD 348 (Wacher 1974: 302).

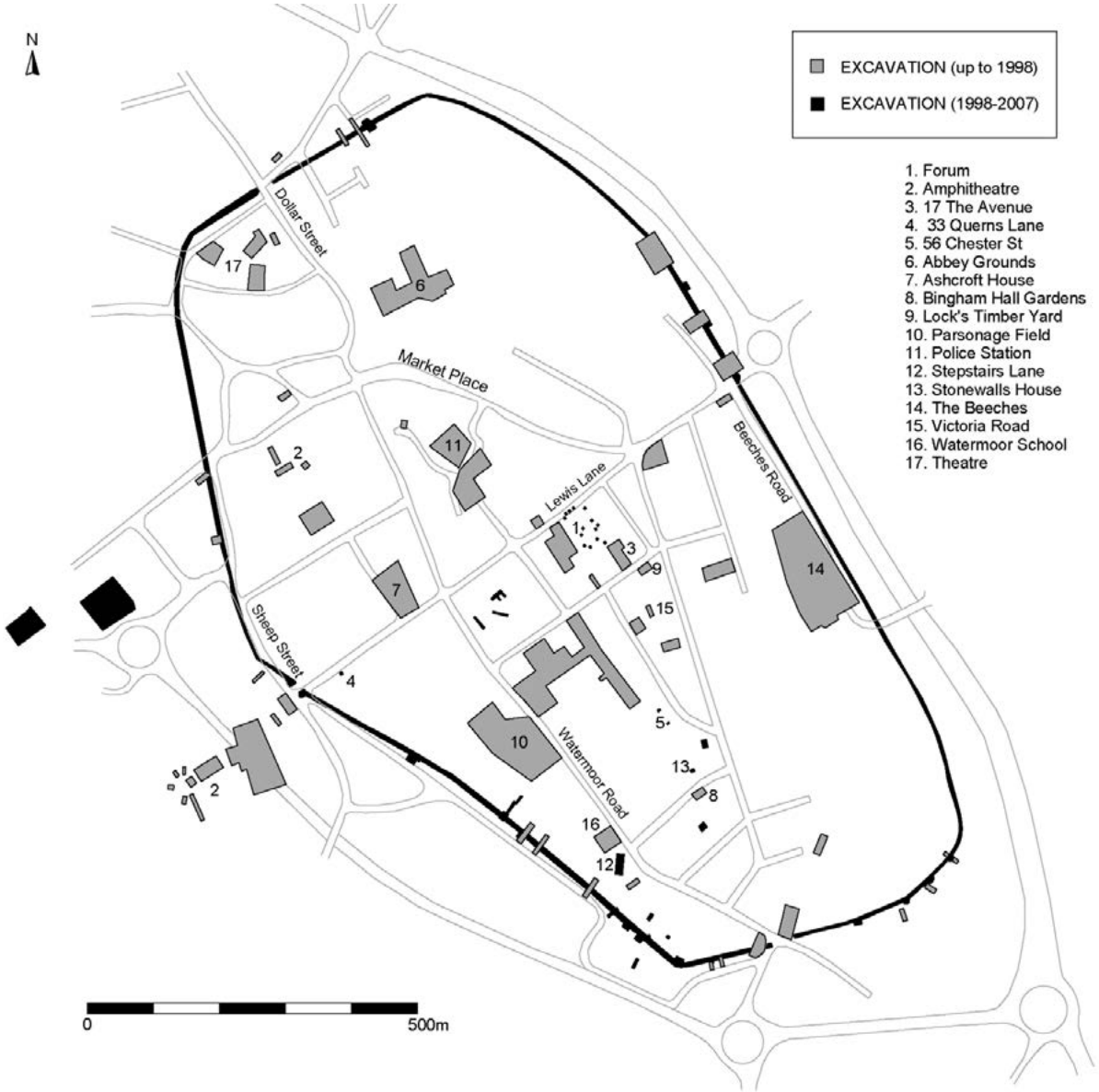


FIGURE 23: KEY EXCAVATIONS IN CIRENCESTER (DRAWN BY AUTHOR)

Public Buildings

In *Insula VI* the forum saw significant modification c.AD 300: divided into two parts, one area featured an enclosed internal colonnade and red-painted wall plaster (Wacher 1974: 305; White 2007: 105). By c.AD 350 this space had been re-floored with a mosaic (Holbrook and Timby 1998a: 108-110). Wacher proposes that this could have signified conversion to a provincial governor's praetorium (1974: 305). White sees no evidence to confirm this, but recognises this 'unusual modification' as implying pressure for increased accommodation in this zone (2007: 106). The back range of rooms in the forum-basilica was remodelled c.AD 350 and the rooms then used for metalworking, notably for bronze and the production of lead. Later the portico was demolished and a wall constructed across the street between the forum and *Insula* VI to the south; a coin from the wall core dates to after AD 367 (Holbrook and Timby 1998a: 108-121). After AD 360 the paved floor of the forum piazza was re-floored in sandstone slabs (White 2007: 106). These became extremely worn, showing heavy use. Pits cutting into the floor contained late 4th-century coins, including one of Honorius (AD 395-402). Wacher in fact proposed that the piazza remained in use to AD 450 (1974: 313, 417).

Immediately south of the forum-basilica (*Insula* VI) was a large 2nd-century public building (of uncertain function) comprising a large central courtyard and side corridors (Timby *et al*. 1998: 122). Its use was short-lived (perhaps only 50-80 years), and following its disuse the courtyard area was damaged by pits and soil dumping, these contained many artefacts dating to the 3rd and 4th centuries and building rubble. The ruinous building further decayed with a corridor roof collapse after AD 383 (a coin of Valentinian II – AD 383-387 – was recovered from the demolition). Overlying the soil dumps within the courtyard area was a rubble platform interpreted as foundations for

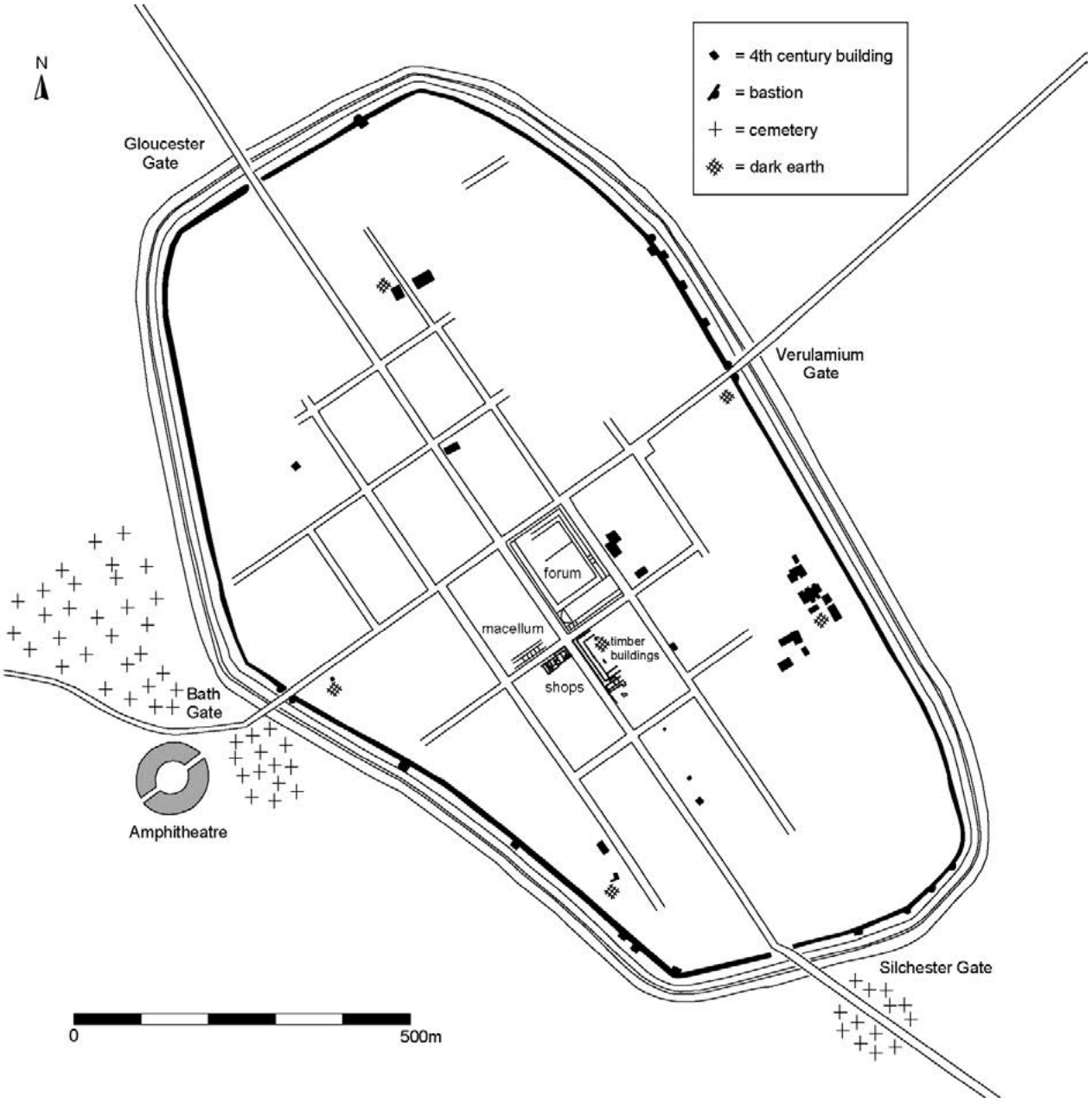


FIGURE 24: 4TH-CENTURY CIRENCESTER (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, UPDATED FROM HOLBROOK 2008: 30)

a timber building, along with a further timber building, both with some evidence for metalworking. A further rubble platform, again interpreted as a timber building, lay in the former yard area to the south. All are poorly dated, if stratigraphically set to c.AD 400 (*ibid*: 135). Overlying these were further dumps of soil, these containing large quantities of butchered animal bone.

The *macellum* in *Insula* II was extensively repaired *c*.AD 300, but was probably abandoned and partly demolished by AD 360 (Darvill and Gerrard 1994: 62). Shops continued in use throughout, and immediately opposite the *macellum* at least seven shops in *Insula* V were remodelled (Figure 28). In the latest floor surfaces five shops have coins to AD 388 and beyond (Holbrook 1998c: 205). One shop featured hearths and iron slag, perhaps indicating blacksmithing. Sizeable deposits of animal bone in another shop should indicate a butchers in a large corner plot (*ibid*: 209); some of the waste from this shop may have been dumped in the disused public building in *Insula* VI.

Cirencester has the highest concentration of late Roman belt buckles outside of London, including miscast pieces suggesting on-site manufacture. White proposes that this helps support the case that Cirencester was the provincial capital, while the miscast buckles show it as a place of manufacture (White 2007: 71), perhaps in the area of the shops discussed above.

Around AD 350-360 the amphitheatre has lost its primary role. Changes came: the eastern entrance passages and walls were demolished (dated by coins to AD 330-364

Figure 25: Reused stone blocks within the foundations of an external bastion in the south-east corner of the defences at Cirencester (reproduced with permission from Neil Holbrook, from Wacher and Salvatore 1998: 58, fig.31)

– Holbrook 1998b: 166), creating a larger entrance into the arena. Road surfaces into the arena were re-laid three times, finally becoming heavily rutted. As these surfaces contained late 4th-century coins (*ibid*: 168), White interprets the evidence as indicating that the arena was by then being used as a market place (2007: 190).

Housing

There are *c.19* 4th-century houses excavated at Cirencester (Table 13), and the data show a fairly even split between those that continue in use after AD 350 (32%), and those that are demolished or no longer lived in by AD 350 (26%) (see Figure 30). However, most houses are known from very small-scale investigations and so their end-use dates are not clearly known from 42% of buildings. An earlier study by Faulkner proposed a longevity of occupation levels, peaking at AD 350 (1998b: 379), though, as emphasised by White (2007: 180), the dates used in this study are only estimated, and occupation could have been for much longer. Like Winchester, the plan of 4th-century Cirencester shows little patterning in the areas of building use or disuse in the 4th century, thus illustrating an apparent random picture of both decay and continuity – unless it relates simply to the varying intensity of archaeological investigation.

Figure 26: A rubble building platform within the ruinous Insula VI public building at Cirencester (reproduced with permission from Neil Holbrook, from Timby *et al*. 1998:136)

Wacher highlights a prosperity evident in at least six private houses containing mosaics from the first half of the 4th century (Wacher 1974: 306). Cirencester is believed to have been home to a school of mosaicists, active across the region at many villas (White 2007: 124). Some large townhouses were still being constructed in this period: a building at Bingham Hall Gardens in *Insula* IX was built *c*.AD 300 and its latest floor surfaces contained coins of AD 388-396 (McWhirr 1986: 194); cf. Stonewalls House – Holbrook and Hirst 2008: 87). Building VI.3, (St. Michael's Field), also of *c*.AD 300, expanded in the AD 390s with a mosaic laid. Some demolition, followed by further activity in the 5th century (Holbrook 1998: 244). Building XVIII.1 (Police Station) was built over a building demolished *c*.AD 300 (McWhirr 1986: 251). Part of a building at Lock's Timber Yard (XIV.3) had several late 4th-century coins in the latest floor surfaces, that suggested to the excavator that the building was active into the early 5th century (*ibid*: 249). Other buildings show evidence for demolition in the early part of the 4th century, and in these areas the land was subsequently given over for waste ground, e.g. Building VII.B at Stepstairs Lane (Brett and Watts 2008: 87).

Meanwhile, many older buildings were remodelled in the 4th century. For example, Building XXI.1 (Ashcroft House), Building XXV.1 and XXVI.1 (Abbey Grounds) were large 3rd century structures that continued up to AD 350 (McWhiir 1986: 222, 227); a large 2nd-century building (Building IV.I, Parsonage Field) remained as a large townhouse until AD 350, and then was subdivided into small properties (Rennie 1971: 64). Building XI.1 (Victoria Road), also a 2nd-century building, was modified over four phases, the latest lasted into the 5th century (McWhirr 1986: 247). Building XIV.2 (17 The Avenue) and Building XXI.1 (Ashcroft House), similarly remained in use into the 4th century (*ibid*: 249), the latter being enlarged to double its original size (Reece 1976: 92).

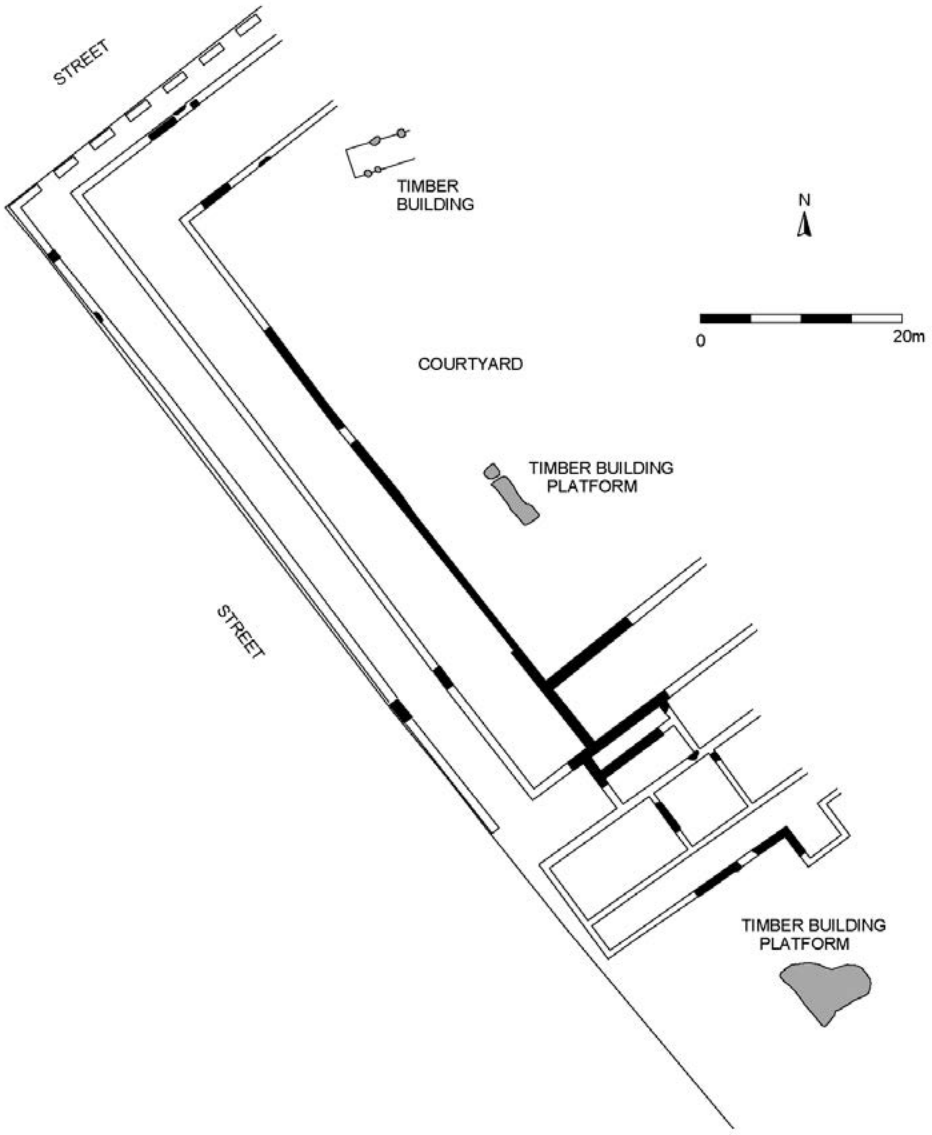


Figure 28: A row of 4th-century shops at Cirencester, near to the macellum (drawn by author, adapted from Holbrook 1998c: 202, fig.145)

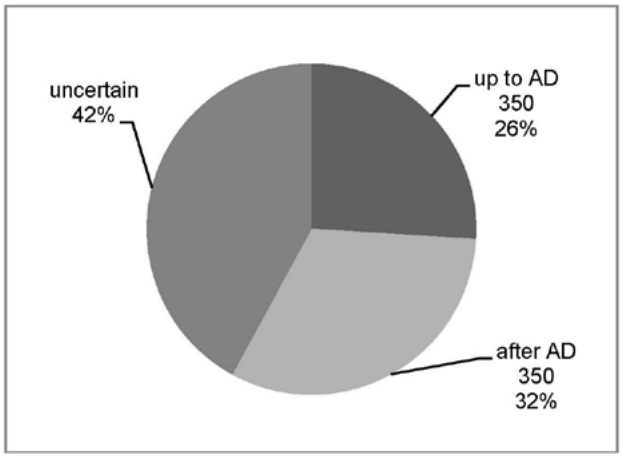


Figure 29: Longevity of 4th-century private housing in Cirencester (19 buildings, see Table 13 for full details)

The largest excavation of private housing so far has been of two almost full-excavated townhouses in *Insulae X* and *XII* at The Beeches (McWhirr 1986) – (Figure 30). Both were substantial buildings with mosaics, constructed c.AD 350 (*ibid*: 23, 45). They had associated smaller buildings, one with evidence for smithing (*ibid*: 30), others as barns (*ibid*: 65), and a large rectangular structure containing several hearths (*ibid*: 71). Cropmarks immediately to the west indicate further possible workshops (Grave and Holbrook 2008: 92). These numerous small buildings to the rear of the main houses have more in common with farm buildings, rather than townhouses (White 2007: 112). Reece proposed that these buildings reveal that the town had become 'ruralised' in the 4th century, becoming simply an 'administrative village' (Reece 1980: 77). Perhaps it is worth considering that the town had large open (un-built) areas throughout much of the Roman period – and not just in the 4th century: a reconstruction drawing of 3rd-century Cirencester (Darvill and Gerrard 1994: 75, fig. 25) suggests much intramural space formed agricultural land.

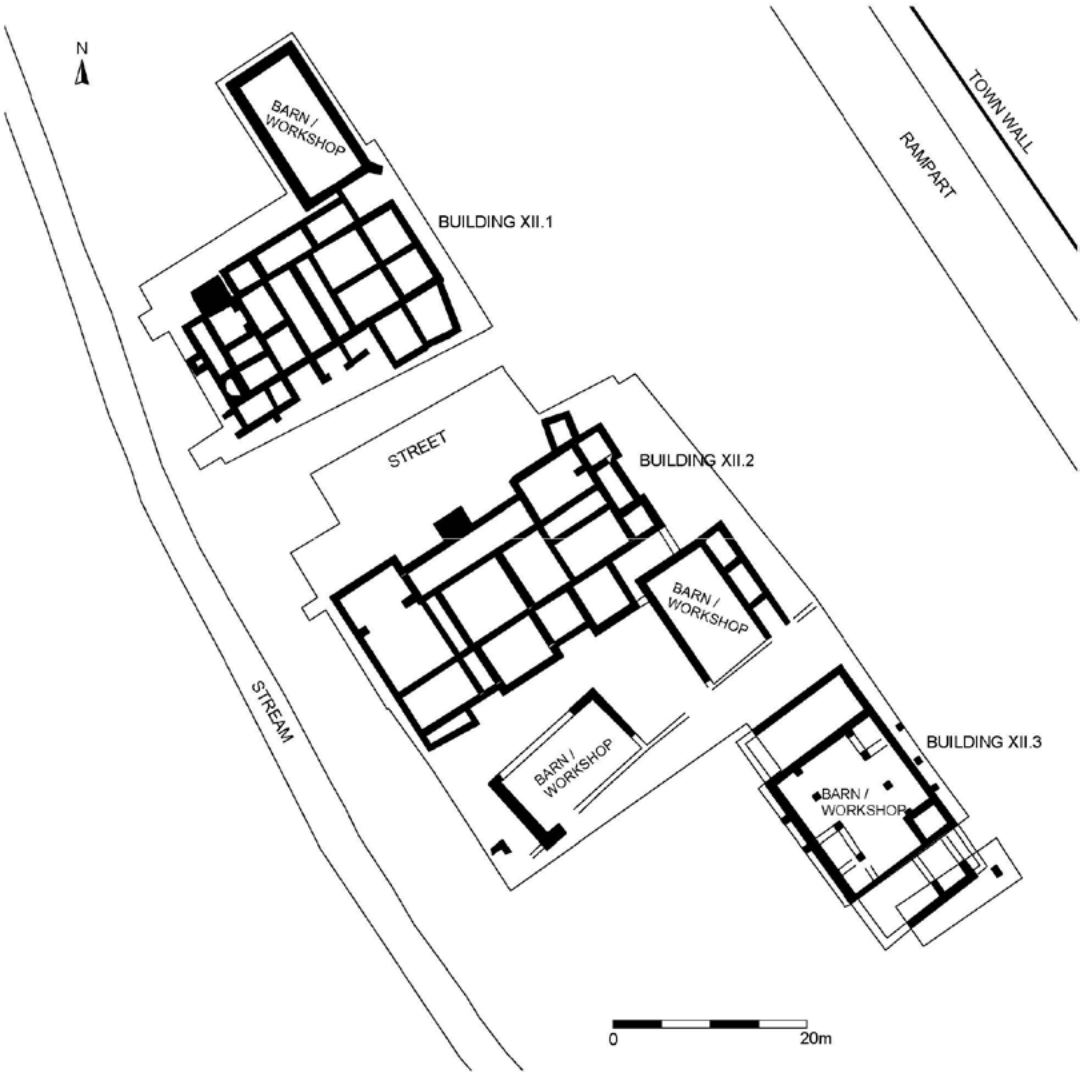


FIGURE 30: POSSIBLE FARM BUILDINGS IN INSULAE X AND XII AT CIRENCESTER (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, ADAPTED FROM MCWHIRR 1986: 20. FIG.4)

Soils and Space

The earliest occurrence of dark earth at Cirencester probably comes in the early 4th century, when the area of a former public building immediately opposite the *forum* was used for rubbish dumping (Timby *et al.* 1998: 140). After AD 350, areas where large private buildings were demolished also appear to have became waste ground. For example, at Abbey Grounds dark earth contained a range of 4th-century artefacts, including coins of Gratian, Valentinian, and Arcadius (McWhirr 1986: 226); at Querns Lane dark earth formed over a collapsed roof (Reece 1956: 203); and at Stonewalls House soil covered demolition deposits (Holbrook and Hirst 2008: 87). A rubbish dump within a disused rectangular structure at The Beeches dates from AD 375 (McWhirr *et al.* 1986: 71). There may have also been a disregard of the town defences, as thick deposits of dark earth at Querns Road was found to overlay part of the rampart – a feature post-dating AD 388 (Wacher and Salvatore 1998: 64).

Evidence from across the town shows that the streets continued to be maintained, though buildings did begin to encroach onto some of the streets. At Verulamium Gate a re-gravelled area contained quantities of coins dated to AD 330-402 and a coin hoard of AD 348-354. Traces of timber structures were found on this surface. The adjacent street surface had a series of five re-metallings with coins and pottery of the very late 4th century (Wacher and Salvatore 1998: 44). A Theodosian coin in a road-side ditch indicates that the street between the *basilica* and shops was probably maintained until at least AD 388 (Holbrook 1998: 186). In contrast, the full width of a street was blocked to the rear of the *basilica* by a drystone wall, dated by coins in its core to AD 348-375 (Holbrook and Timby 1998a: 108-121).

Religious Structures and Burials

Only architectural fragments from temples have been discovered in Cirencester, and no actual pagan buildings have been excavated. Unusually, unlike other provincial capitals in Britannia, no resident bishop attended the Council of Arles in AD 314 (Wacher 1974: 311). However, an early Christian presence is hinted at in a hidden reference to Christianity – a Christian palindrome scratched onto

wall plaster of a house at the southern end of Victoria Road (*ibid*: 311).

Of the cemeteries, best known is Bath Gate Cemetery to the west of the town, following excavations from 1969-76 where over 450 burials were examined (McWhirr *et al.* 1982: 19). The cemetery was active throughout the 4th century: most coins from burials date from AD 310-340, though some contained late 4th-century issues, the latest being a coin of Honorius (AD 395-406), likely showing continued burial into the 5th century (*ibid*: 105).

The 5th and 6th Centuries

Some of Cirencester's buildings have very late 4th-century coins on the final floor surfaces, and burials at Bath Gate also likely continue into the early 5th century. Settlement activity beyond this point is unclear, though one claim is that Gildas may have been educated in Cirencester in the 6th century, thereby indicating a continued 'Roman' society persisting long into the 'post-Roman' period (Breeze 2010: 131). The archaeological evidence for this period, however, is scant.

Within the roadside ditch of Ermin Street, two bodies were found, but the date is uncertain (Wacher 1974: 313; 1976). Wacher places them to the 5th or 6th centuries as a sign of a severe epidemic that led to the desertion of the town, though one was found with medieval pottery, so the reliability and usefulness of these bodies is low.

Strikingly, no 5th- to 7th-century pottery sherds have been found on any excavation within the town walls (Timby *et al.* 1998: 138). Finds are limited to just two 5th- to 6th-century ring-headed bronze pins, one found at Abbey Grounds in a robber trench of the 9th-century church (Brown 1976: 19), and the other residual in a medieval context at The Beeches (McWhirr 1986: 106); locations are shown on Figure 31.

Evidence seems to point to settlement outside of the town walls with reuse of the amphitheatre. Perhaps in the early or mid 5th-century (coins are of Theodosius, AD 388-402) the entrance was narrowed with large blocks and a timber palisade across the access (Holbrook 1998b: 166: 169). After this, a turf layer formed over the amphitheatre, four sherds of grass-tempered pottery of 5th- to 7th-century date were recovered from this (*ibid*: 174). Inside the arena area a timber-framed structure measuring 8 x 5m was constructed (*ibid*: 170). While few associated finds were found, abraded 4th-century Roman pottery and the 5th- to 7th-century grass-tempered pottery hint at 'post-Roman' date. Dark views this as evidence for the amphitheatre being turned into a citadel (2000:106); certainly this space would have been much easier to defend than the 4km length of town defences (Wacher 1974: 315).

Cirencester (known as *Cirenceaster* in the 6th century) is described as a city in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entry of AD 577 when it fell to the advancing Anglo-Saxon Wessex kingdom following the Battle of Dyrham (Swanton 2000: 19). However, archaeological evidence shows that Anglo-Saxon settlement within the area was much earlier than this. An early 6th-century cemetery lies 250 metres north-west of the town at Barton Farm. Two burials contained shield bosses, and others cut through a mosaic of a Roman villa (Baddeley 1924: 60-1); the earliest finds and burials date to AD 450-550. This shows that Anglo-Saxon influence or settlement was already present in this area by the early 6th century. The Chronicle does highlight the importance of Cirencester still as a central place, despite the lack of clear settlement evidence. Perhaps this is referring to the amphitheatre rather than the entire Roman town – an argument put forward by Wacher (1976: 17). The town (or part of it) may have been central to an individual kingdom, formed around the former *civitas* (White 2007: 204). In the 6th century, Cirencester's leader or chief is recorded as Condidan, who was defeated by Ceawlin who advanced as far as the Severn (Brown 1976: 33).

A number of other 'Anglo-Saxon' objects have been discovered within Cirencester, though their location and provenance are uncertain (see Table 14). The objects include evidence for weaving (a pin beater), along with dress items such as pins, a buckle, a brooch, and a number of beads, these possibly imported from Ireland or France. A sword scabbard and iron spearheads were also present. A possible Sunken-Featured Building was identified (but not recorded) during construction of the ring road in 1973 (Gerrard 1994: 88); while its exact location is uncertain, it will have been outside of the town walls. All these elements support the idea of an active and significant centre still based on the old Roman town (or part of it) and its road network.

The Early 7th Century

'*Cirenceastre'* is recorded again in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in AD 628 in the context of a battle for its control between the West Saxon and Mercian rulers, Cynegils and Penda (Swanton 2000: 25). This in itself implies a settlement of some importance, still perhaps a central place in control of the zone (Gerrard 1994: 90).

Altering Settlement Forms: Cirencester AD 300-600

Based on the above evidence and discussions, the following settlement sequences are proposed for Cirencester:

- AD 300-350. Provincial capital, defences & public buildings repaired and modified.
- AD 350-400. Further defensive modifications, new housing forms, public building reuse
- AD 400-500. Urban failure, settlement shift.
- AD 500+. Uncertain, emerging estate centre?

Cirencester's role as provincial capital of *Britannia Prima* is reflected in the good archaeological evidence through notable building redevelopment in the early 4th century: the town walls were repaired and significantly widened;

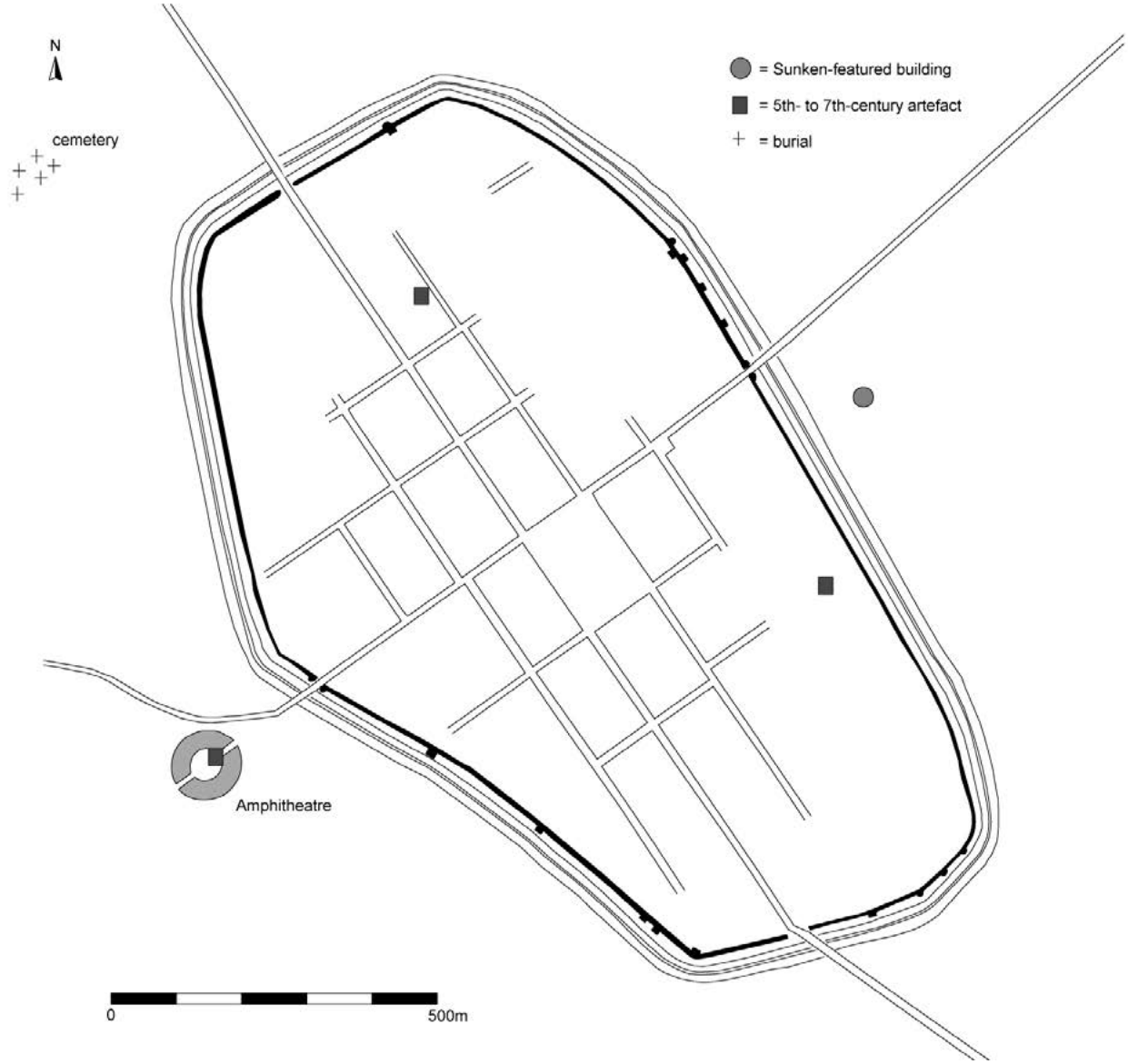


FIGURE 31: 5TH- TO 7TH-CENTURY SETTLEMENT EVIDENCE IN CIRENCESTER (DRAWN BY AUTHOR)

the core public buildings of the *forum* and *macellum* were modified, the former perhaps housing the governor's *praetorium;* and numerous high-status private buildings emerge, many active throughout the century. Contrasting with this image, is the build-up of dumped soils in parts of the town; even opposite the *forum* a disused area had became a rubbish dump.

Around AD 350 the town undergoes further notable changes. While burial evidence hints at a gradually declining population, some major additions were made to the defences, including external bastions, some constructed with *spolia*. Although some public buildings continue, their use was changing: thus within the *forum* worn steps show ongoing use, and some of the *basilica* rooms were used for metalworking. Timber structures were built over earlier dark earth soils immediately opposite, and the *macellum* was partly demolished. Despite the loss of the old market space, continued commercial activity is illustrated by the remodelling of at least seven shops close to the *forum*, these active through to the early 5th century. The amphitheatre lost its original purpose, and perhaps saw conversion into a fortress, or else became a new market zone – or else a combination of such roles. Some large private buildings were remodelled, and subdivided into smaller units. While on the fringes of the town some buildings were demolished, and the areas became waste ground, or in some areas the presence of agricultural-looking buildings suggest a more rural appearance.

In the early 5th century the town appears to be failing as an urban settlement. Settlement activity perhaps shifted outside of the town walls to centre on the more easily defensible amphitheatre. Anglo-Saxon activity is known from the immediate surrounding area from the early 6th century, implying that Cirencester had a small-scale resident population, and that the place retained some importance.

4.3 Winchester

Winchester (Roman Venta Belgarum) is located in modern Hampshire at the southern edge of the South Downs and on the course of the River Itchen. The closest major Roman towns (*civitas* capitals) were Silchester c.35km north-west and Chichester c.45km south-east. There were around six small towns within a 40km radius (McCulloch 2002), supported by a coherent road network (Figure 23).

The Archaeological Resource

The earliest modern archaeological work within Winchester was carried out by Sydney Ward-Evans in the 1920s and 1930s. He observed building works on many building sites as a self-titled 'Honorary Archaeologist', and his records consisted of a series of notes, with an emphasis on the late Iron Age, and the identification of Roman cemeteries (see Qualmann 1993: 66). Most post-World War II redevelopment of the city was overseen by the first City Curator Frank Cotterill and there was significant work on the town defences by Cunliffe (1962, 1964). The largest and most wide-ranging excavations were carried out in the 1960s and 1970s by the Winchester Excavations Committee, led by Martin Biddle. This was the first permanent urban unit to be established in the UK (Biddle 1984: 96) and it undertook both rescue and research projects. The extensive programme of excavations saw publication as a series of interim reports mostly in *The Antiquaries Journal* (see Biddle 1964-1975), but as of 2013 the full excavation reports remain forthcoming. It is these excavations that form the core of data on Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and medieval Winchester. During the early 1970s (and in 2000-2005) excavations focused on extra-mural sites, yielding much useful data on the late Roman cemeteries (Clarke 1978; Booth *et al.* 2010).

The last major excavation within Winchester was 'The Brooks' in 1987-88 (Zant 1993); this was slightly larger than the Biddle-led sites and complements the work well. Since then work has been on a much smaller scale: Wessex Archaeology and Oxford Archaeology have both been active, with a series of medium to large excavations along Jewry Street (P. McCulloch 2009 and pers. comm.; Teague 2006, 2007 and pers. comm.). The total excavated area within the town walls remains very low (around 2%). Most of the south-east space is dominated by the Cathedral, the remaining areas of the town being fairly undeveloped compared to other modern towns. There are, therefore, severe limitations with the data, but what there is, is very well recorded with some impressive results. The assessment below combines information from most excavations (Figure 32), along with relevant records from the Historic Environment Record and Urban Archaeological Database for Winchester.

Origins and Development

The earliest settlement dates to the Late Iron Age in the form of an enclosure called Oram's Arbour, located on the west side of the present town (Wacher 1995: 293). The Roman town was established around AD 70, when it became the *civitas* capital of the Belgae. The street-grid, public buildings, and earliest phase of the town defences were added in the Flavian period (Zant 1993: 5). The Roman street grid likely consisted of five east-west and north-south streets, forming around 39 *Insulae (ibid: 6, fig.6)*. The *forum* and *basilica* were built *c*.AD 100, located adjacent to the main east-west street, but away from the main north-south street (Wacher 1995: 293). The *forum-basilica* has been partly investigated (Biddle and Quirk 1962: 153) and includes evidence for a temple within the complex (Biddle 1975a: 298-9). A Romano-Celtic temple is known from the Lower Brook Street site; this was in use until it was demolished around AD 300 (Biddle 1975b: 299). Earthwork defences were added in the 1st century, enclosing 58ha (Qualmann 1993: 73); in the late 2nd century these were modified with an enlarged rampart, and a stone wall was added in the 3rd century (*ibid*: 73), constructed of mortared courses of large flint. The rampart varied in thickness from 12 to 18 m (Wacher 1995: 296). The South Gate is well excavated (Biddle 1984: 112), whereas the position of the remaining gates is uncertain, but probably correspond to the location of the medieval gates. A small postern gate, leading out into the river, lay in the north-east corner of the circuit (Wacher 1995: 297).

The 4th Century

Town Defences

The town defences in the 4th century gained external bastions, and the ditch may have been modified. A semicircular tower was added near to the South Gate (Biddle 1975b: 110-117), and a further tower is identified south of West Gate (Biddle 1984: 112). Biddle argued against the entire circuit receiving bastions, and indeed two towers in the west and north-west are thought to be medieval additions (Biddle 1965: 238). Perhaps the new bastions were only located close to the town gates – giving the impression of a formidable defensive circuit to visitors or would-be assailants.

Public Buildings

Of the public buildings only the *forum* and a temple have seen partial excavation (Zant 1993: 5). While the *forum-basilica* is poorly investigated, however, the Cathedral Green excavations established that from AD 275-300 parts of the main complex were abandoned, if with some subsequent renewal of activity with internal changes to the complex. After AD 350 came apparent decay, followed eventually by abandonment (Biddle 1970a: 312). The later 4th-century *Notitia Dignitatum* indicates that Winchester probably had a *gynaeceum* – or state textile factory (Booth *et al.* 2010: 527). Although as yet no archaeological evidence exists for this (and it could equally be in either Caistor-by-Norwich or Caerwent), it may have been sited in the *forum* – adapting space as at Silchester (see below).

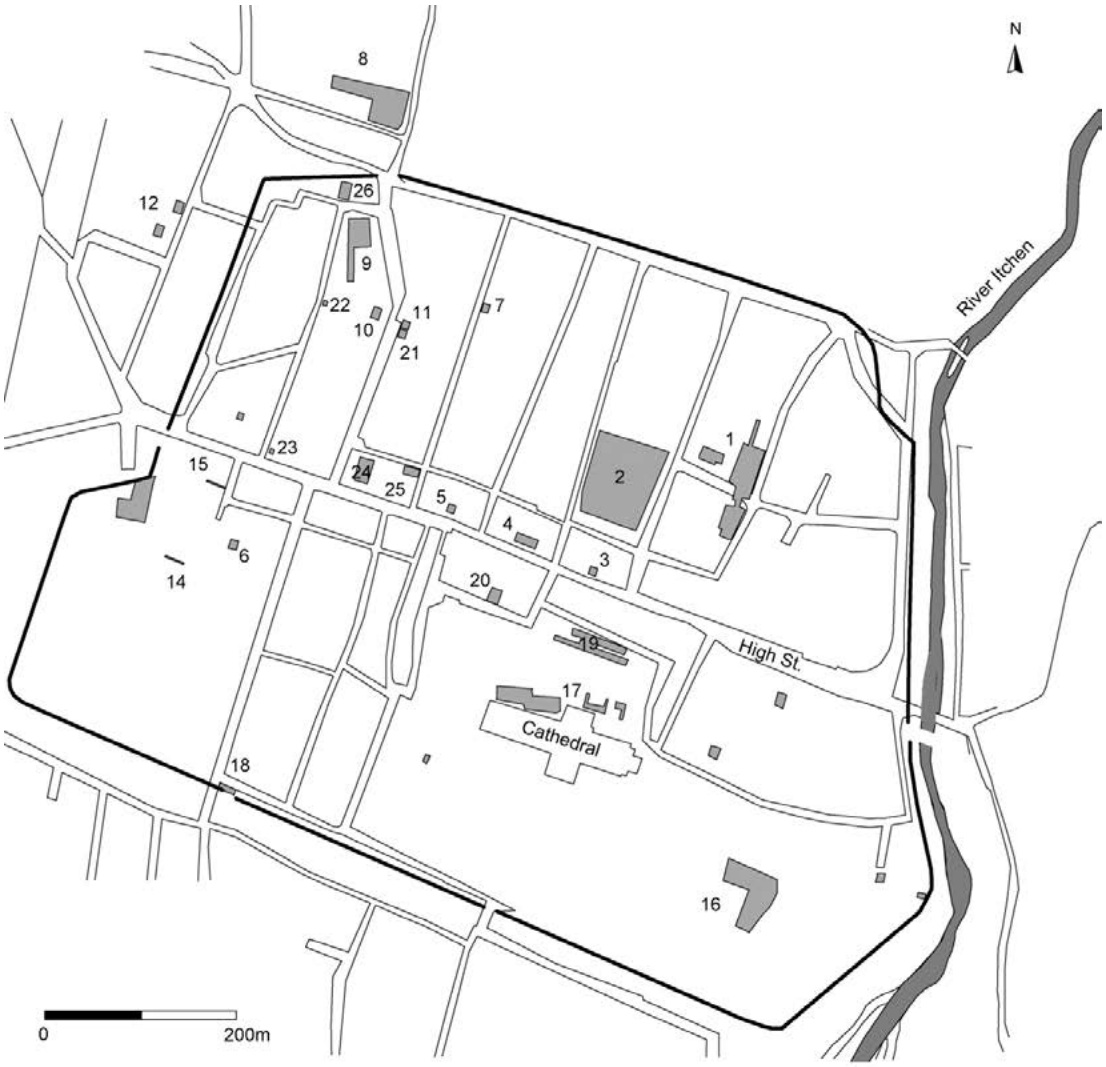


FIGURE 32: PLAN SHOWING LOCATION OF MAJOR EXCAVATIONS IN WINCHESTER (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, UPDATED FROM BIDDLE 1984: 104)

The *gynaeceum* ought to have been a large building, requiring a couple of hundred people to run it (*ibid*: 528); but it also implies industry – with smells and noise – invading old urban core spaces.

Elsewhere various excavations show how elements of public structures were being reused in 'private' buildings in the 4th century. Biddle lists four good examples of this: an entablature found in Building 2 (*Insula* II.2); a base and inscription filling a late Roman well (*Insula* II); a moulded base and inscription reused within an oven built in the corner of a courtyard of a townhouse (*Insula* VIII 1); and coping stones re-used in a late building close by (2007: 189). Clearly this reveals a sacrificing of some public buildings from early in the 4th century.

Housing

There are *c.*23 4th-century houses excavated within Winchester. The data show that 61% continue in use after AD 350, 26% are demolished or no longer lived in by AD 350, while a further 13% of buildings cannot be securely dated (see Table 25 for full details). The longevity of 4th-century buildings masks major changes in the town after AD 350, from when there are increasingly fewer large townhouses and more timber housing. The plan of 4th-century Winchester (Figure 33) shows little patterning of building use or disuse, and thereby illustrates an apparent random picture of both decay and continuity, though this could of course reflect the relative patchwork of archaeological investigation.

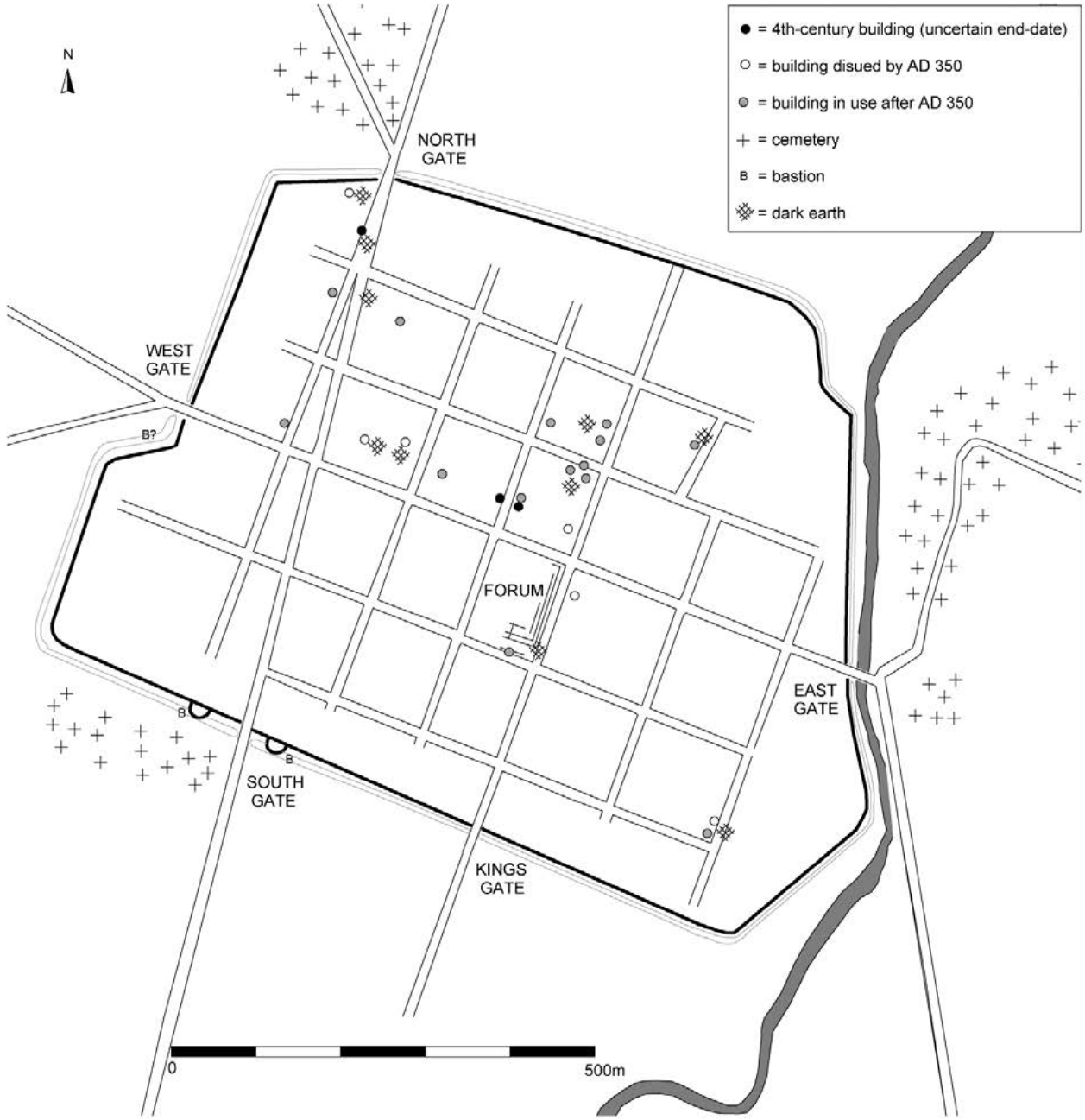


FIGURE 33: 4TH-CENTURY WINCHESTER (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, AFTER BIDDLE AND KJØLBYE-BIDDLE 2007: FIG.1)

Four buildings were revealed in 'The Brooks' excavations in *Insula* VIII (Zant 1993), all constructed around AD 300. The largest was an L-shaped building (VIII.9a 9b) that later became a courtyard townhouse from AD 320-350 (Zant 1993: 83-127). This had masonry footings and a timber superstructure, but evidence for mosaics, painted wall plaster, and heating systems, show its high status. The building endured until the AD 370s. Beyond this, activity seems limited to cess pits up to AD 400. Close by a large courtyard house (VIII.1) was in use until the later AD 360s (*ibid*: 85), as were two further high status townhouses (XXIII.3 and XXIII.2) after which these were reused, with some rooms showing evidence for partitions and hearths hinting at industrial processes. The charcoal-rich silts date to AD 360-370, prior to the demolition of the buildings (*ibid*: 126). Potentially, following the demolition of these large buildings, the area was occupied by smaller timber housing (building VIII.15) standing amongst accumulating or dumped deposits of dark earth soils (see below).

Close to these buildings at Lower Brook Street a similar development sequence was found. A small building was built in the early 4th century after the destruction of a temple, and comprised three or four rooms with a courtyard fronting onto the street. The large room was later

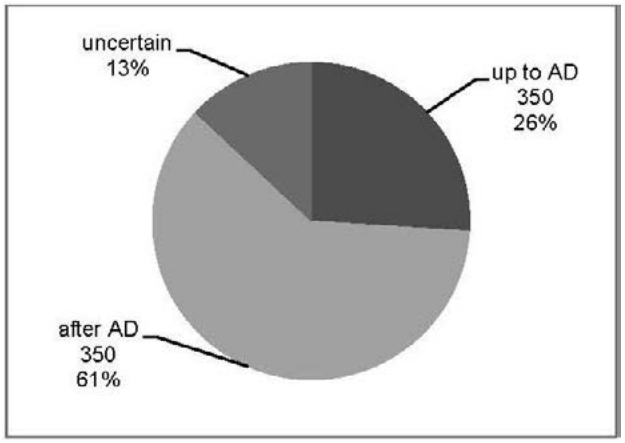


FIGURE 34: LONGEVITY OF 4TH-CENTURY PRIVATE HOUSING IN WINCHESTER (23 BUILDINGS – SEE TABLE 25 FOR FULL DETAILS)

sub-divided, the northern rooms demolished, and within the easterly room was a raised hearth surrounded by a trough (Biddle 1975b: 301). Two small ovens were fed by a single flue, not connected with the main hearth; bronze was found within this room, though there was no evidence for bronze-working. The building was perhaps 'in use for the greater part of the 4th century' (*ibid*: 302).

Some streets were re-metalled in the later 4th century (Biddle 1975a: 116; Zant 1993: 150), yet there are four known examples of timber housing encroaching onto streets. At The Brooks compact rubble spreads (dated to after AD 364) overlay the final street metalling and could represent the base of a timber building (Zant 1993: 151). At Cathedral Green similar compact rubble with associated post-holes located over dark earth, dated to after AD 375 (Biddle 1964: 206). This encroachment

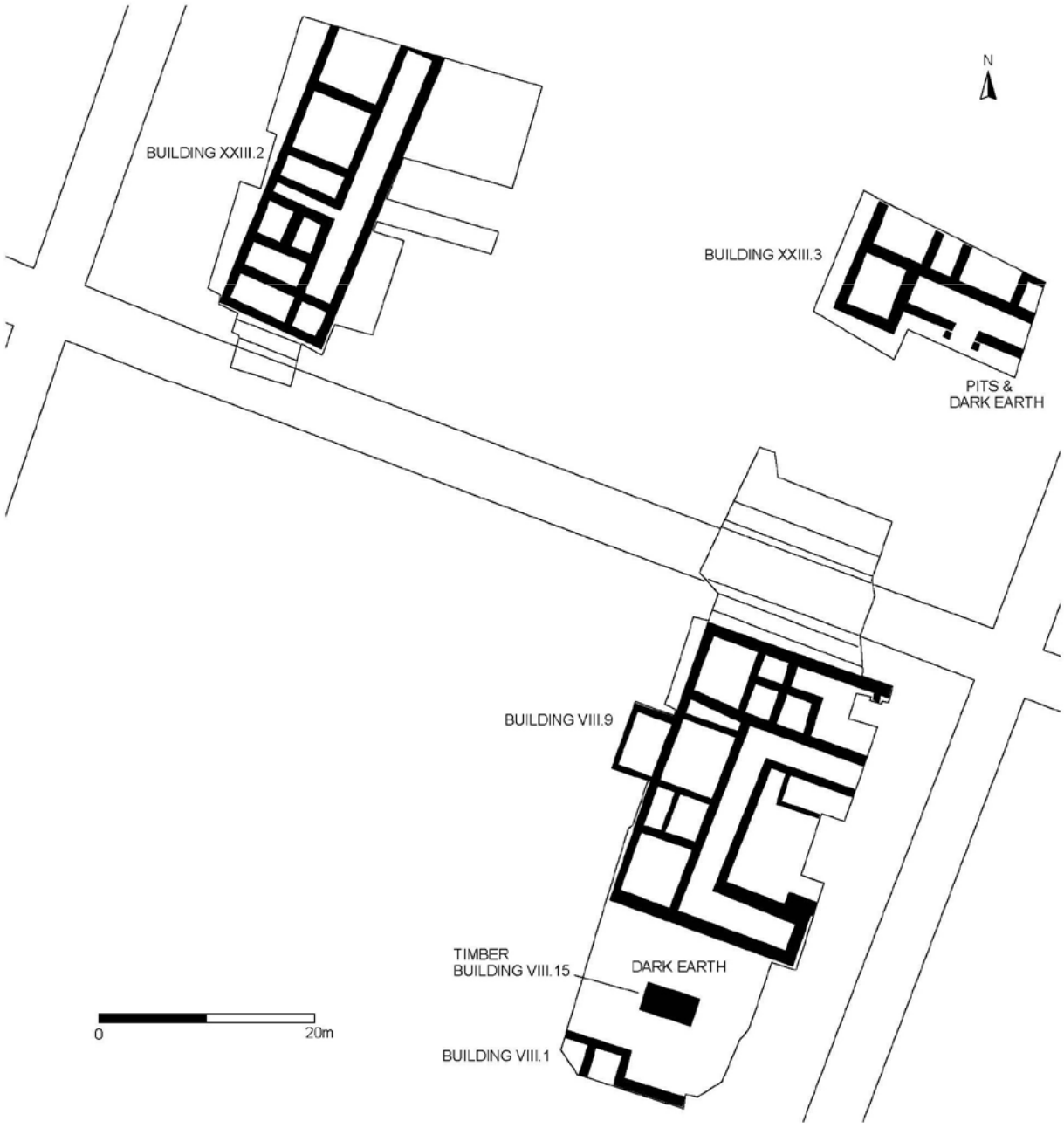


FIGURE 35: 4TH-CENTURY TOWNHOUSES AT THE BROOKS, WINCHESTER (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, MODIFIED FROM ZANT 1993: 84, FIG.66)

onto streets may have begun in some places in the early 4th century, as suggested at Winchester Library (Teague 2007: 10), and at Tower Street, where part of a timber building on the edge of a street dates to after AD 326 (Collis 1978: 165).

Soils and Space

Dark earth has been discovered across the town (Figure 25). This often overlay demolished 4th-century buildings. While some of the soil dates to AD 300, most appears to occur after AD 350. It was excavated at The Brooks where it covered a large area and was consistent in colour, texture and density. It contained lots of pottery, coins, metalworking waste, along with post-Roman pottery, showing that the soil continued to accumulate, perhaps into the 9th/10th centuries (Zant 1993: 155). At The Brooks the dark earth lacked evidence for stratification (though it was removed by machine), and it began to accumulate in the mid-4th century in an open area between two buildings (VIII.1 and VIII.9). There was no sign of cultivation, and stubs of ruined or demolished buildings clearly remained above the dark earth (*ibid*: 156). Dark earth has also been traced in the northern suburb, close to the large Lankhills cemetery (Birbeck and Moore 2004: 91); here the soil was forming by AD 360 over disused roadside buildings, but since the street remained clear of soil this presumably continued in use (*ibid*: 92).

Religious Structures and Burials

Only a single religious structure has been investigated – a small Romano-Celtic temple in Lower Brook Street. This was demolished and robbed around AD 300 (Biddle 1975a: 301). Evidence for Christianity (or simply 4th century fashion) is also limited, but a family-group burial was found in association with a platter with a chi-rho motif on it, which dates to AD 330-350 (James Beaumont 2009: 40). A chi-rho monogram was found on a tile built into the corner of a hypocaust in a building at Lower Brook Street (Biddle 1975a: 112).

Evidence from a large cemetery of over 900 burials (mainly inhumations) outside the North Gate at Lankhills failed to identify any clear Christian indicators (Clarke 1978: 425-428), although a small number of shroud burials could be Christian (Booth *et al.* 2010: 521-522). The earliest burials date to after AD 320 (Booth *et al.* 2010: 457). After AD 350 there are a wider range of grave goods, and a few very late 4th-century graves were richly furnished. The latest graves are dated by coins to AD 388-402, though some graves contained bone bracelets and combs and buckles of possible 5th century date (*ibid*: 461). Of particular note is that the rate of burial appears consistent throughout the cemetery's use, with no clear evidence for significant decline until it was abandoned in the early 5th-century (*ibid*: 461). No Anglo-Saxon artefacts were recovered from the cemetery, although a grave containing a bucket of possible early Anglo-Saxon date was found close by (Wessex Archaeology 2009: 19).

The excavations of the 1970s interpreted a group of 16 burials as belonging to individuals from Pannonia (modern Hungary), interpreted as probably forming part of an official military community of federate troops (Clarke 1978: 377-403); this interpretation was based on the grave objects. However, more recently a strontium and oxygen isotope assessment of selected bodies from the Lankhills cemetery indicated a mixed late Roman population (Evans *et al.* 2006). This identified that the cemetery contained individuals of British origin and non-British origin, though the locations were dispersed rather than from one particular area. A quarter of those sampled were not local, and came from western Europe, three from the Mediterranean, and possibly one from North Africa (Booth *et al.* 2010: xv). This highlights the difficulties in assigning individual origins based solely on grave goods, as some individuals who should be of 'Pannonian' origin (according to Clarke's definition, 1978: 377), actually appear to be British in origin (Booth *et al.* 2010: 511).

The 5th and 6th Centuries

The argument has been made for some time (since Biddle 1984) that a royal centre existed at Winchester already in the 5th and 6th centuries, and that the minster was founded in the late 7th century because of that (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007: 204). The evidence for this is now reviewed.

The 5th century sees a collapse of the 'Roman' town, with most buildings lacking dating evidence to show continuation of use. No structural evidence has so far been identified within Winchester that dates securely to this period, although, there are a number of other indicators hinting at how the intra-mural space was being utilised (Table 26). The loss and/or partial survival of the Roman street grid and town defences reveals much of the nature of the occupation within the town in the early post-Roman period. Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle propose that only the main east-west Roman street, and two north-south streets continued across the 5th and 6th centuries (2007: 191). The east-west street in fact drifted (slightly parallel) to the north of the Roman predecessor, and over (demolished?) Roman buildings fronting the street; this may have occurred because the pre-existing compacted gravel surface of the Roman street offered a firm base for new timber buildings (there are late Anglo-Saxon buildings built onto the Roman street at Cathedral Green – see Biddle 1970a: 311).

A worn route-way or 'hollow way' formed at the eastern end of the High Street, close to the West Gate; it is still visible today on the side streets off High Street from Southgate Street and Jewry Street to West Gate. The hollow was around 70m wide, and buildings were built over the hollow from the 10th century onwards, indicating that the hollow way was formed between the 5th and 9th centuries (Biddle and Hill 1971: 73). While the medieval West Gate likely maintains that of the Roman predecessor, the medieval East Gate is around 16m north of the Roman gate (Biddle 1988: 196). The east-west 'High Street' was thus a well worn and used route through the town,

the street on the western end having been heavily worn because it is on a rise, and the north-south route blocked at the South Gate (see below). It is often stated in studies of early medieval Winchester (largely written by Biddle) that the Roman street grid did not survive at all into the early medieval period. The establishment of the *burh* in the 9th century largely ignored the Roman street system or else it had already disappeared from the townscape (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007: 189). If largely true, the key east-west roadline did survive broadly on a similar alignment, conditioned by the town fortifications and gates.

The defences, last modified in the mid-4th century, were likely still in a good state, at least in the early 5th century. An indication of this survival was observed in the Castle excavations where they were incorporated into the Norman Castle (*ibid* 2007: 206). The South Gate was excavated in 1972 (Biddle 1975a: 109-19), and revealed an interesting sequence: the Roman street surfaces were re-laid numerous times, the latest after AD 367-378; at some point the gate collapsed, and though this is not securely dated it is thought to be in the mid-5th century at the earliest. Traffic continued through the remaining gap. The street surfaces from the latest phases were rubble worn, patched, and re-surfaced, perhaps in the late 5th or early 6th century. A V-shaped ditch was then dug across the street; it was 2.5m wide, and 1.8m deep. This occurred before AD 700 (*ibid*: 117). Yorke argues that it was blocked because of a hostile Jutish kingdom in southern Hampshire and the Isle of Wight; if so, this means *c*. AD 686, prior to Caedwalla's conquest of the Isle of Wight (Yorke 1997: 261). Finally, two bodies were discovered lying to the side of the wall, and these have given fairly broad radiocarbon dates of AD 690-890, and 650-820. At the opposite end of the town, the North Gate may have also been blocked: although unexcavated, 'topographical considerations suggest that it was' (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007: 191). Indeed, pitting and dark earth soils accumulated over the street close to the North Gate from the late 4th century onwards (Teague 2006: 12), indicating neither saw long usage. With the gates blocked this north-south street probably fell out of use, while another north-south street remained still in use further to the east. This street shifted like the High Street, off the Roman line slightly west (King's Gate on east side of the *forum*).

Finds of early Anglo-Saxon date have been found across the town (Figure 37), but all are residual, apart from one – a primary fill of a pit at Lower Brook Street (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007: 195). There are over 300 sherds of pottery dated to the early to mid- Anglo-Saxon period (Thompson 1998), and some concentrations of finds occur. Settlement in the early post-Roman period will probably have been dictated by the river floodplain: by the 6th century the Roman drainage system had likely fallen into decay, and so it is probable that the River Itchen floodplain will have extended into the eastern area of the town from King's Gate to Durn Gate.

The most convincing evidence for settlement is from Lower Brook Street where a 'cultivation plot', consisting of linear slots, some running onto the edge of a Roman street, was located (Biddle 1975b: 299). Close to this were several deep pits over the courtyard area of a Roman building. From across the excavation 65 sherds of pottery, most dated to the 5th to 6th centuries (but with some to the 7th century) were recovered (*ibid:* 301). Rubble surfaces seen over an east-west street at The Brooks (Zant 1993, discussed above) could be evidence for 5th- or 6th-century buildings, rather than late 4th-century, and are perhaps part of the same settlement cluster seen at Lower Brook Street.

A second potential settlement focus lies around the area of the Old Minster. Here excavations close to the forum identified a (late Roman?) timber building constructed over the Roman street; after it was destroyed or abandoned,

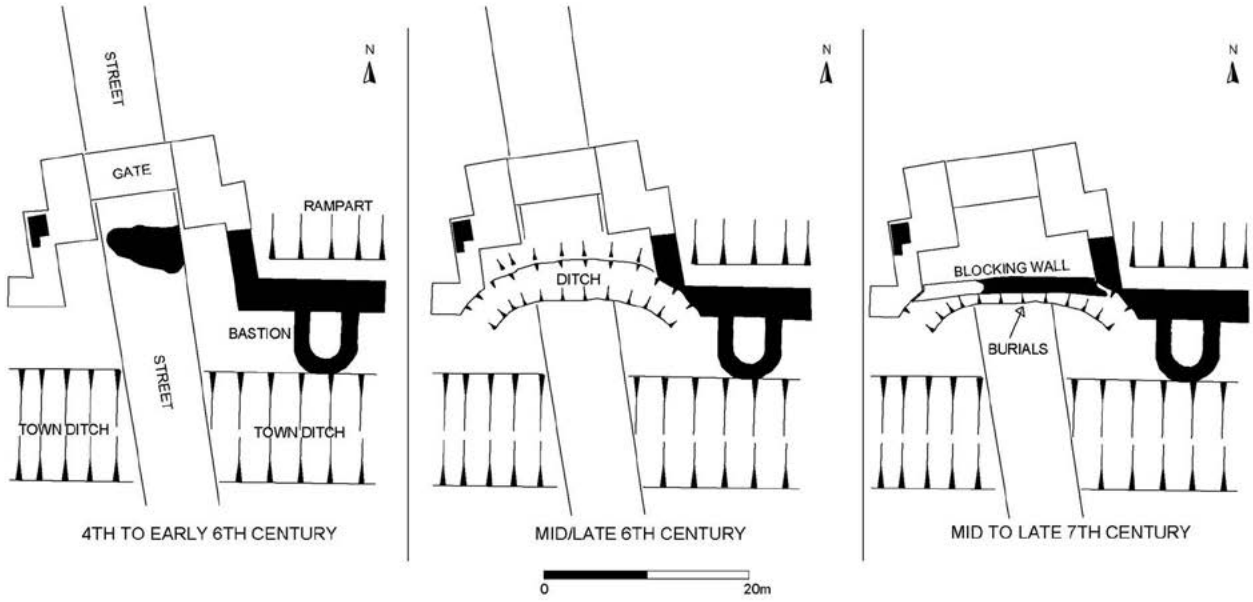


FIGURE 36: PLAN SHOWING CHANGES TO THE ROMAN SOUTH GATE, WINCHESTER (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, ADAPTED FROM BIDDLE 1975: FIG.6)

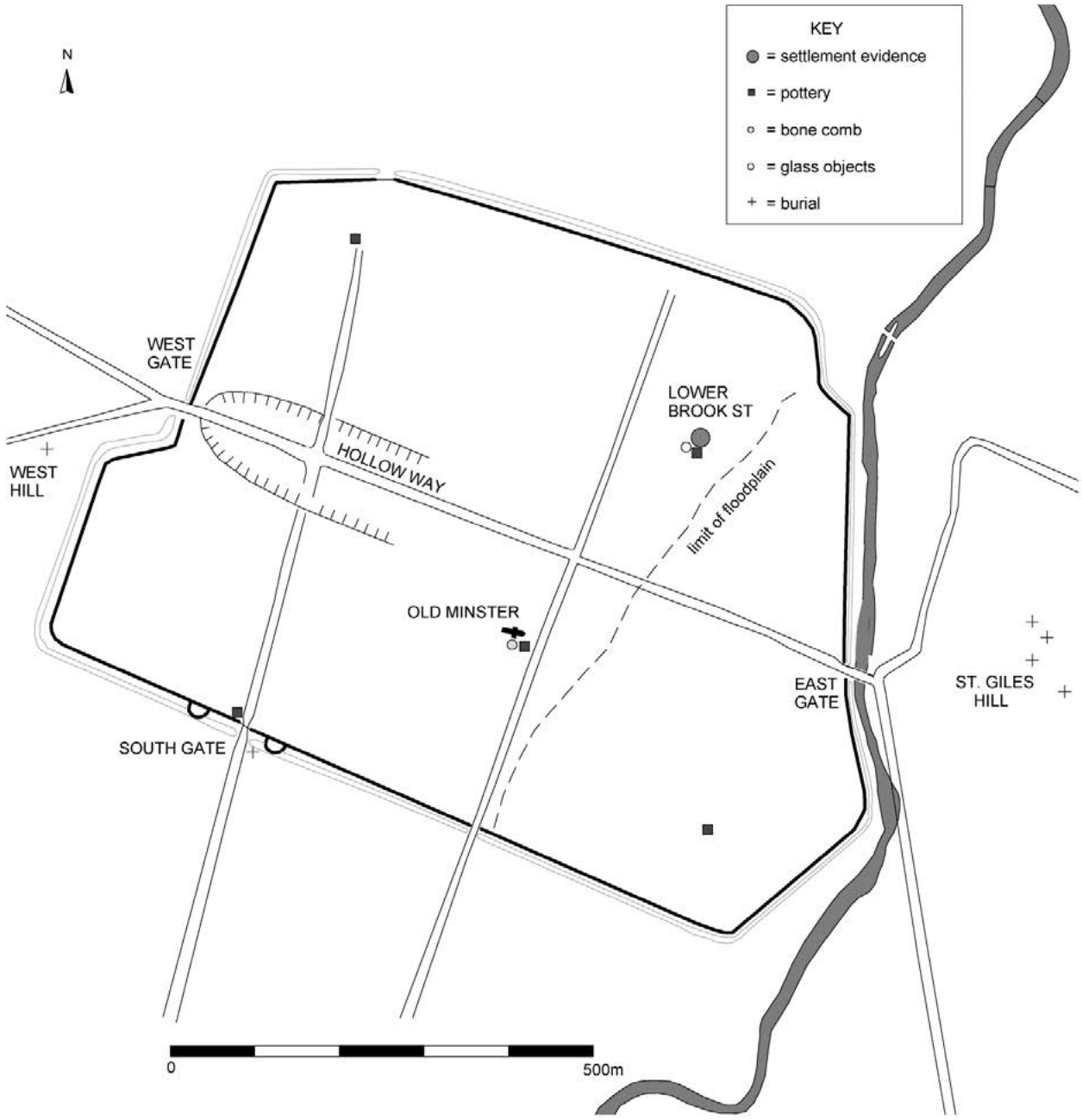


Figure 37: 5th- and 6th-century settlement evidence in Winchester.
(Drawn by author, updated after Zant 1993 and Biddle and Kjølbye -Biddle 2007: fig.2)

two phases of cobbling and occupation followed. Two early Anglo-Saxon pottery sherds were found in a black layer over the later cobbling. A late 5th-century bone comb came from a small pit that was cut into fallen rubble from the precinct wall of the forum on the north side of the street (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007: 194); this was below the 7th-century Old Minster.

Elsewhere finds on the fringes of the town indicate various areas were still being utilised, if not necessarily occupied. Two sherds of grass-tempered pottery (5th-7th century) were recovered close to South Gate (Biddle 1975a: 116); at Winchester Library a sherd came from dark earth (Teague 2006: 13); and at Wolvesey small quantities of pottery were found across the site. Biddle and Kjolbye-Biddle argue using documentary evidence, for a possible early to mid- Anglo-Saxon settlement is also probable at Nunnaminster – Ealhswith's Haga and Coiteburi / 'Coite's residence' (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007: 194).

A number of early Anglo-Saxon burials are known surrounding the town, especially a little way outside the East Gate at St. Giles Hill, and West Gate on West Hill, both sited on areas of higher ground overlooking the town and river valley. A cluster of burials clearly focus on Winchester (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007: 200)

and indicate it was a focus of interest long before Anglo-Saxon Christianity arrived. Beaumont-James prefers to view settlement of the 5th and 6th centuries being focused in the rural hinterland, rather than within the walled area of Winchester (2009: 47). He notes sites in the environs with evidence for settlement evidence such as SFBs, and suggests the cemeteries found outside the walls of the town actually relate to these rural settlements. Winchester remained a focus, perhaps because it remained a centre of authority, though there is as yet no archaeological evidence to support this.

The Early 7th Century

The South Gate was cut off by a ditch in the early 7th century, and this closing indicates that someone wanted to protect what was inside the town walls – a palace or royal centre would seem the likely options. Biddle argues that Winchester had an 'enclosed high status estate centre within the walled area, with other lesser enclosures also within the walls [by the mid-7th century]' (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007: 204). Certainly an active population existed within the town prior to the founding of the minster (the quantities of artefacts surely attest to that), and the Roman defences alone could have attracted a royal presence. The first church, or 'Old Minster', was built at an angle across an east-west Roman street, and was founded in the reign of Cenwalh (AD 624-673), probably in AD 648, although the first recorded bishop was Wine in AD 660 (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007: 192). Strikingly, at Lower Brook Street there was a major change in the use of space: a large rectangular enclosure was added and there is some evidence for burials (Biddle 1975b: 302). This indicates the beginnings of a major change and growth from the mid-7th century onwards, both suggestive of a key player in the urban futures of Winchester.

Altering Settlement Forms: Winchester AD 300-600

Based on the above evidence and discussions, the following settlement sequences are proposed for Winchester:

- AD 300-350. High-status housing, reduced public services.
- AD 350-450. Defences renewed, timber housing, soils
- AD 450-600. Dispersed non-urban 'rural'
- AD 600+. Minster founded, renewed 'urban' growth

From the beginning of the 4th century, Winchester witnessed a period of apparent growth as numerous large townhouses were built. There appears to have been a concomitant reduction in the number of public buildings, with many demolished and their material used for construction of townhouses. The *forum* remains active, and is even remodelled. It is possible (though not archaeologically proven) that a *gynaeceum* – a textile 'factory'– was sited here. From around AD 350 the town undergoes some major changes: firstly, the town defences were modified, with external bastions added near to the gates; many of the large private buildings were beginning to be demolished or abandoned by the AD 360s, and replaced by timber housing (some encroaching onto the streets); there were industrial activities, the *forum* was abandoned, and we see increasing areas of waste ground in some areas of the town. However, the cemetery evidence indicates no decrease in burials throughout the 4th century, implying no significant population reduction.

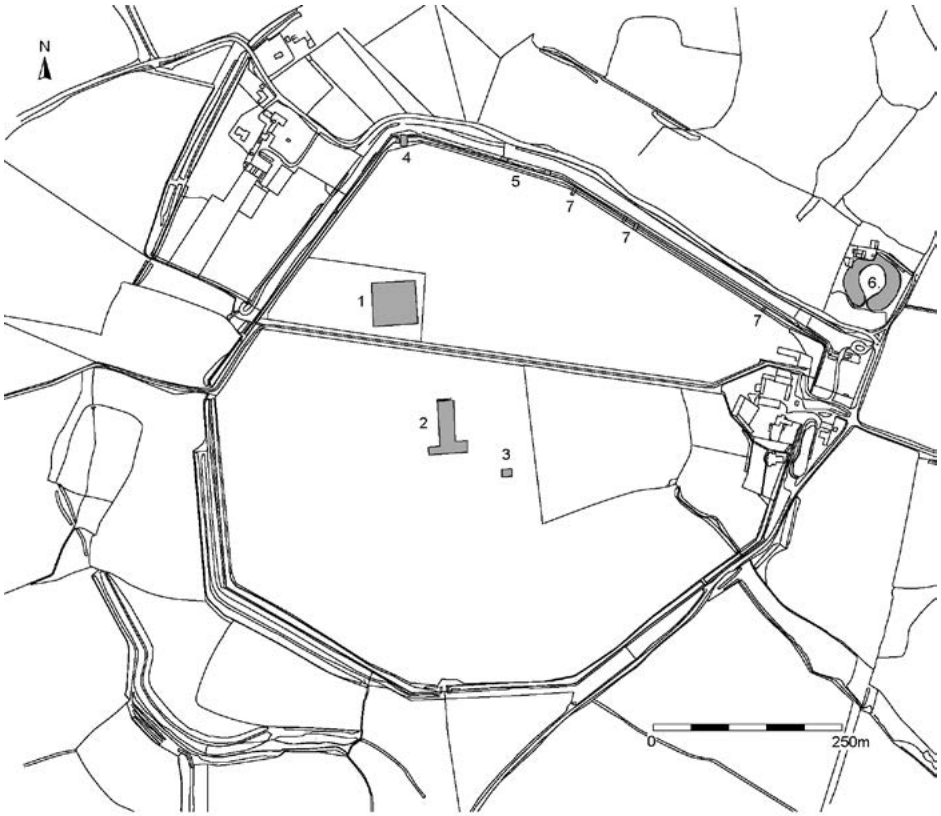
By the mid-5th century Winchester had a more dispersed rural-type settlement, and a new material culture appears, indicating a new or mixed population living within the walled space. The town may have become the site of a local elite, and certainly contained a significant population, coming later to prompt the foundation of a minster in the late 7th century.

4.4 Silchester

Silchester is located in Hampshire, c.13km south-west of Reading, and currently exists as wooded lands and open ploughed fields framed by the ruins of the Roman town walls and ditches. The intra-mural area is now owned by Hampshire County Council, and the fields are leased for use as agricultural land. The Roman town (Calleva Atrebatum) lies on a spur of land overlooking a valley to the east. There were around eight small Roman settlements within the *civitas* territory of the town (Fulford 2002: 11), while the closest large Roman town was Winchester c.35km south-east (Figure 23), with Cirencester c.70km north-west, and London *c.69km east.*

The Archaeological Resource

The town saw a series of intermittent excavations throughout the 19th century (Davis 1898; Joyce 1881; Fox and Hope 1894, 1895; Hope 1897). This culminated with a Society of Antiquaries investigation from 1890-1909, with the aim of uncovering the entire Roman town plan! It was excavated *insula* by *insula* and covered a wide area (Hope 1897). Major 20th-century investigations begun in the 1940s, when part of the town defences were examined (Cotton 1947), and in 1961 Richmond re-examined excavations of a possible church (Frere 1976). The defences were further investigated in the late 1970s (Fulford 1984; 1985b) and the early 1990s (Fulford *et al.* 1997). The *forum-basilica* was explored in detail in the 1980s, and produced impressive evidence for late Roman activity (Fulford and Timby 2000), along with the amphitheatre (Fulford 1989). Since 1997 to present (2013) 'The Silchester Town Life Project' has been running in *Insula* IX (http://www.silchester.rdg.ac.uk). This large-scale (see Figure 39) research and training excavation programme in a large part of one *insula* has the aim of excavating fully from the latest post-Roman activity back to natural substratum (Clarke and Fulford 2002: 131). This is a hugely valuable project that is continuing to add a wealth of understanding to the chronology of the *insula* and town. The late Roman sequence was fully excavated by 2001 and subsequently published (Fulford *et*



1. Insula IX 1997-2011
2. Forum-basilica 1980-86
3. The 'church' 1890s and 1961
4. North Gate 1988, 1991-93
5. North Walls 1992-93
6. Amphitheatre 1979-85
7. North Walls 1938-39

Figure 38: Key excavations in Silchester (drawn by author)

Figure 39: View of the large open-area excavations in Insula IX in 2008 (photo by author)

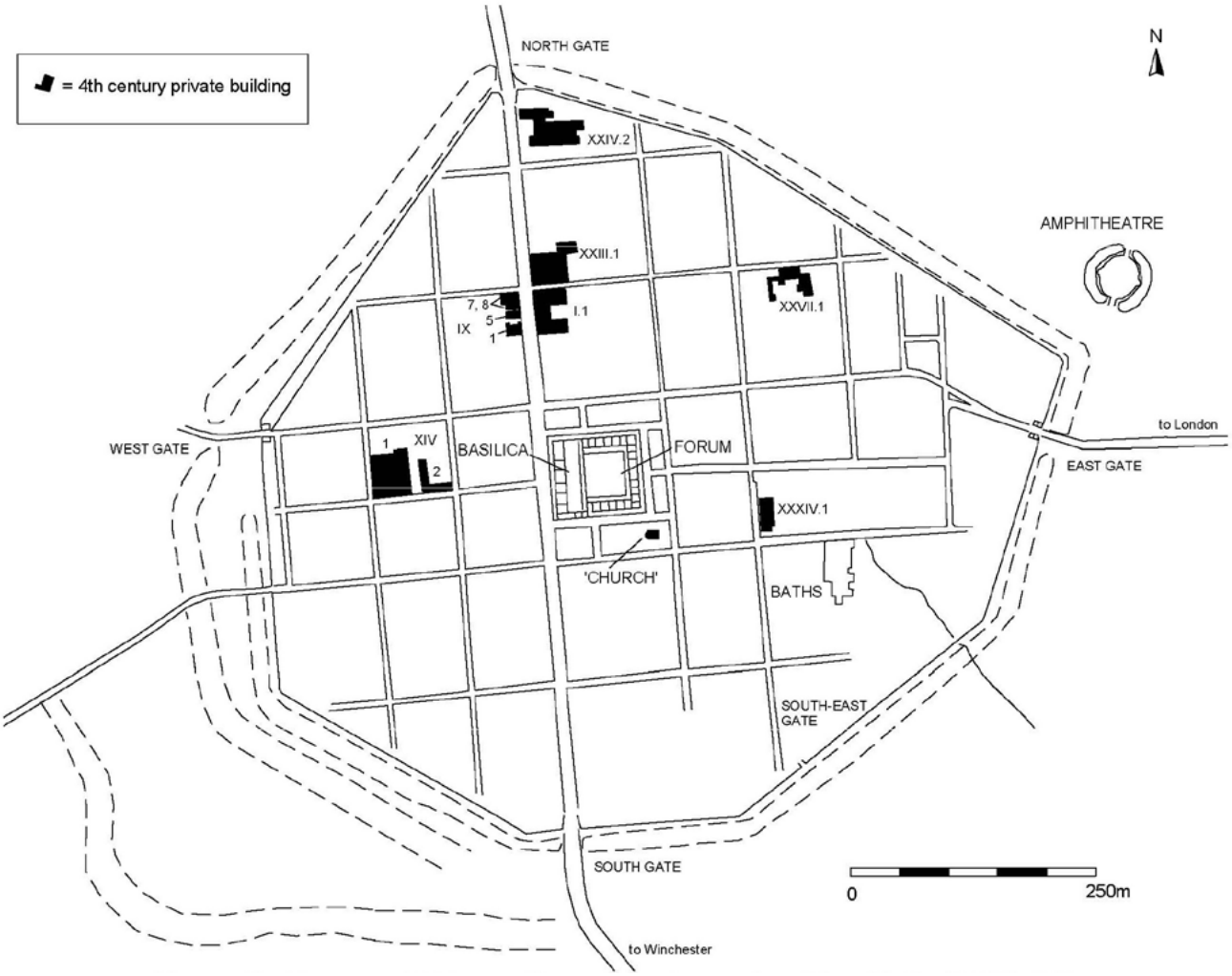


FIGURE 40: 4TH-CENTURY SILCHESTER (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, UPDATED FROM FULFORD 2002: 2-3)

al. 2006). The total excavated area within the town walls is low (around 1%), but the results of cropmarks (Fulford 2002: 2-3) and geophysical survey (Martin 2000), reveal a wealth of unexcavated archaeological remains below the ploughed fields and woodland. The analysis that follows combines information from the excavations shown in Figure 38, along with relevant records from the HER for Hampshire.

Origins and Development

From around 25 BC Iron Age Silchester was densely occupied with a defensive circuit, street grid, and roundhouses. The mid-1st century AD saw the establishment of the town as Roman *civitas* capital in the administrative territory of the Atrebates. At this time a new street grid was laid out, and the public buildings of the forum-basilica (Fulford 1985a), public baths (Boon 1974: 5), temples, and an amphitheatre (Fulford 1985a; 1989: 10) were constructed. By the end of the 2nd century, town defences – consisting of an earth bank and ditch – were built, enclosing an area of 43ha (Fulford and Startin 1984: 85).

The 4th Century

Town Defences

A stone wall (Figure 41) was added to the earth bank around AD 260-280. The highest surviving wall stands at 4.5m at the South Gate, and may have originally been *c*.6m. The wall was constructed of flint with bonding slabs every four or five courses. A new wider and flat-bottomed ditch measuring 13m by 2m was also added (Fulford 1984: 88). Peculiarly, there is no evidence for bastions. After AD 350 the south-east postern was blocked, along with (possibly) part of the West Gate (*ibid*: 89).

Public Buildings

The *forum-basilica* is one of the few in Britain to have been investigated in more recent times and subject to modern standards of excavation and recording. As such, the evidence for late Roman activity is quite extensive and shows continuous usage up to the early 5th century. Within the *forum* there is evidence for late 4th century resurfacing – dated by a coin of Eugenius to AD 392-395. A number of post-holes and stake-holes cut into this surface (Figure 42),

Figure 41: View of Silchester's well-preserved town walls (photo by author)

and though the area investigated was too small to establish an interpretation or date for these (Fulford and Timby 2000: 75), it is clear that they represent re-use of the open piazza for a timber structure. Within the *basilica* were numerous 'fairly insubstantial internal features cutting the make-up layers of the basilica floor' (*ibid*: 69). These features are evidence for industrial activity (iron-smithing and bronze-working) that last 150 years from the mid-3rd century into the early 5th century (*ibid*: 73). A soil layer containing much iron slag was seen across large areas of the *basilica*. This was 20-30mm thick, and had been seen in earlier small-scale Victorian excavations, where it was wrongly interpreted as fire damage and abandonment of the *forum-basilica*. In the open-area excavation of the 1980s this layer could be seen to be confined to certain areas within the *basilica*, and represents evidence for dumped waste deposits. From around AD 330 there are considerable changes to the main hall. There is evidence for at least two timber structures, one with a tiled floor, and another a lean-to structure (*ibid*: 75), and the iron-working appears to have been most active. Close to the structure with the tiled floor were lots of fowl bones, indicating possible offerings if this structure is a shrine (*ibid*: 578). Part of the roof may have collapsed by AD 350, with perhaps only a smaller area being maintained (*ibid*: 78). In the west range there is evidence for a hypocaust and a series of floor joists that indicate part of the structure had changed to a domestic function. The area lacks metalworking evidence, and this structure may date to the late 4th century, some House of Theodosius coins suggest activity continued into the early 5th century (*ibid*: 78).

Fulford and Timby interpret the metalworking evidence in the *forum-basilica* as a weapons factory producing arms and armour (2000: 579). There is no strong evidence for this beyond a lead seal found in a room in the west range. This was used to identify official consignments, and similar examples have been found in Trier (*ibid*: 580). Rogers makes the useful point that there was likely to have been different types of metalworking taking place at the same time (2011: 140-142). The raw materials used for the metalworking came some distance from the town, outside of the boundaries of the *civitas*, showing long distance trading. The working of iron (within the central public building) will have been carried out under provincial or diocesan control. As seen, a similar argument for an official factory is put forward for Winchester – though based only on documentary evidence (see above).

Elsewhere, the huge public baths were reconstructed around AD 300 with a new apse added in the *caldarium*, and the *apodyterium* was re-floored and converted into a single hall (Boon 1974: 129). However, there is evidence for some downsizing after AD 340 when the new *caldarium* was demolished (*ibid*: 130). There is no clear end-use for this building. Excavations at the amphitheatre show that it may have been used intermittently up to AD 350 (Fulford 1989: 56), after which the north entrance collapsed; however, the arena was probably not robbed until the medieval period (*ibid*: 58).

Private Buildings

Remarkably few private buildings have been excavated in Silchester. Boon records six large townhouses with evidence for 4th century mosaics – most patched up and repaired – showing 'little sign of late opulence in domestic designs' (1974: 73). These are shown on Figure 40. Three townhouses are located on the main north-south street through the town.

Excavations within *Insula* IX (Fulford *et al.* 2006) offer a detailed record of four late Roman structures (Figure 43), also located on the main north-south street. The *insula* was dominated by a large townhouse for much of the 3rd century (Fulford and Clarke 2011), but in the early AD 300s radical change occurred, seeing demolition of the townhouse, and replacement by a series of smaller road-side buildings (Fulford *et al.* 2006).

A two-storey masonry structure (Building 1) measured 17.5m by 5m, divided into three rooms. The eastern-end fronted onto a yard area and contained evidence indicating that it was a workshop, the remaining areas being used for living accommodation (Fulford *et al.* 2006: 21). The building soon extended to the north with a new entrance and a corridor with an open portico supported by dwarf columns similar to the 'ogham stone' discovered in 1893 (see below). Within the rooms were charcoal-rich layers over fragmented tile, which contained 4th century pottery, animal bones, and slag. Building 1 was re-built after AD 364-367 (*ibid*: 43). A second masonry structure (Building 5) lay just to the north of Building 1 (Figure 44). This was probably single-storied and measured 18m by 6m, and was constructed around AD 300 (*ibid*: 27). Between the two buildings was a gravelly spread, containing coins of AD 364-367 and slag (*ibid*: 30).

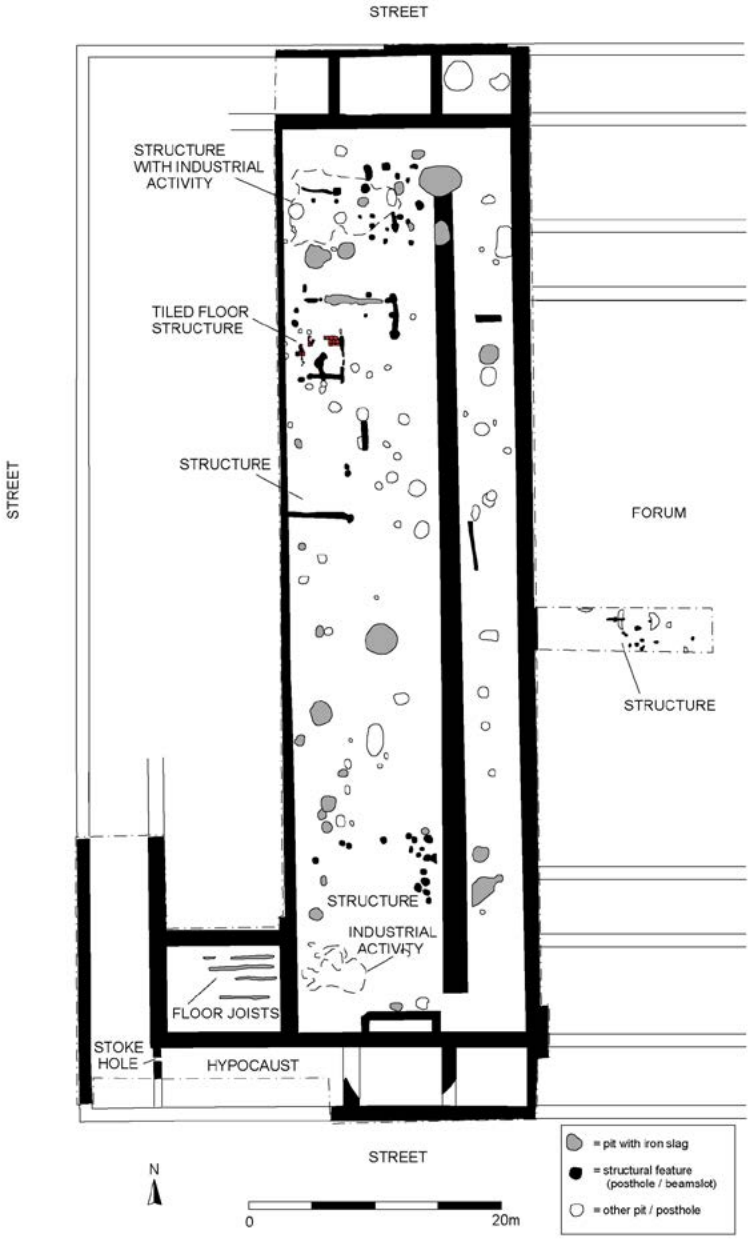


FIGURE 42: 4TH- AND 5TH-CENTURY REUSE OF THE BASILICA AT SILCHESTER (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, ADAPTED FROM FULFORD AND TIMBY 2000: FIG.71)

Figure 43: Reconstruction view of *Insula* IX buildings, Silchester (illustration by Margaret Mathews, courtesy of Michael Fulford, reproduced with permission from The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies)

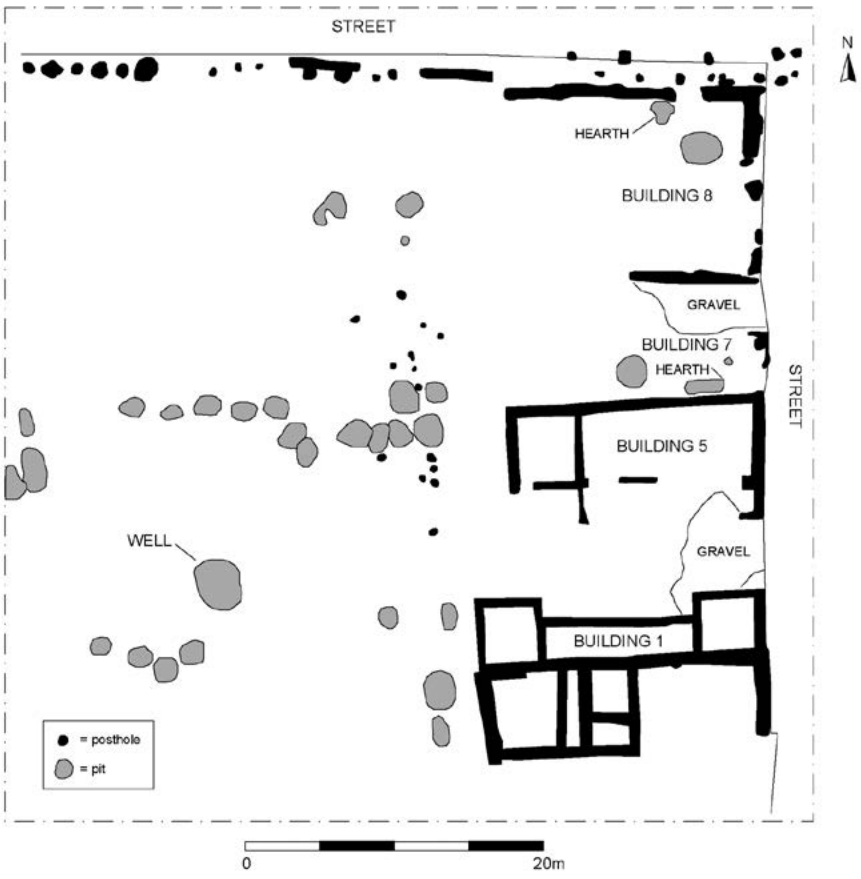


Figure 44: 4th-century buildings within Insula IX at Silchester (drawn by author, adapted from Clarke and Fulford 2000: 13, fig.5)

The two buildings shared a backyard, within which there was evidence for a cess pit and a well containing a range of artefacts from the late 3rd to late 4th century. Wood from the base of the well provided three radiocarbon dates, two giving a late 3rd-century date, and one a late 4th-century date (*ibid*: 40). The buildings probably remained in use into the early 5th century (discussed below). In the NE corner of *Insula* IX was a post-built timber structure of three phases (Building 8) defined by a series of large post-pits (Fulford *et al.* 2006: 60). Within this was evidence for an iron-forging hearth archaeomagnetically dated to AD 314-424 (Clarke and Fulford 2002: 152). A further small timber-framed structure (Building 7) was poorly defined and measured 7.2m by 4.4m (Fulford *et al.* 2006: 55). This lay between Building 8 and 5. Fence-posts and plot boundaries are seen to the west of Building 8 along the street front (Fulford *et al.* 2006: 70). Detailed analysis of the finds recovered from these buildings and associated pits appear to show little change in diet in the 2nd/3rd century townhouse compared to the 4th-century buildings (Fulford 2012a: 261).

Soils and Space

'Dark earth' has not been discovered or recorded in excavations across the town. A quite unusual occurrence, this absence may in part reflect a lack of excavation (although it is noticeable that none is recorded from the intensively studied *Insula* IX excavations), or plough truncation.

Religious Structures and Burials

There have been no excavations yet of cemeteries, and so there is only the occasional burial from chance discoveries that add little to the discussions. A temple complex in *Insulae* VII and XXXV has not been excavated fully, and is presumed by Boon to have been 'probably destroyed before the end of the Roman period' (1974: 72).

The most intriguing possible religious structure is a small building located just to the south-east of the *forum*. This was discovered in 1892 and re-excavated in 1961 (Frere 1976). The building measures 12.8m by 7.3m and consists of a nave with aisles with an apse at the west-end (Figure 45) and a porch at the east-end (*ibid*: 277). It has a small platform that may be evidence for a baptistery, and the apse has a black and white mosaic. Its form would suggest that this was a church although no Christian artefacts have been discovered (*ibid*: 291-2), and the structure is poorly dated. The apse mosaic has in fact recently been stylistically dated to the late 2nd century (Cosh 2004: 229), although the author does not rule out the possibility that it could be 4th century (*ibid*: 233)! The building itself is simply constructed with little extravagance (Ford 1994: 126), perhaps itself an indicator of a mid-late 4th century construction when most other new buildings were generally quite small-scale (e.g. those seen in *Insula* IX).

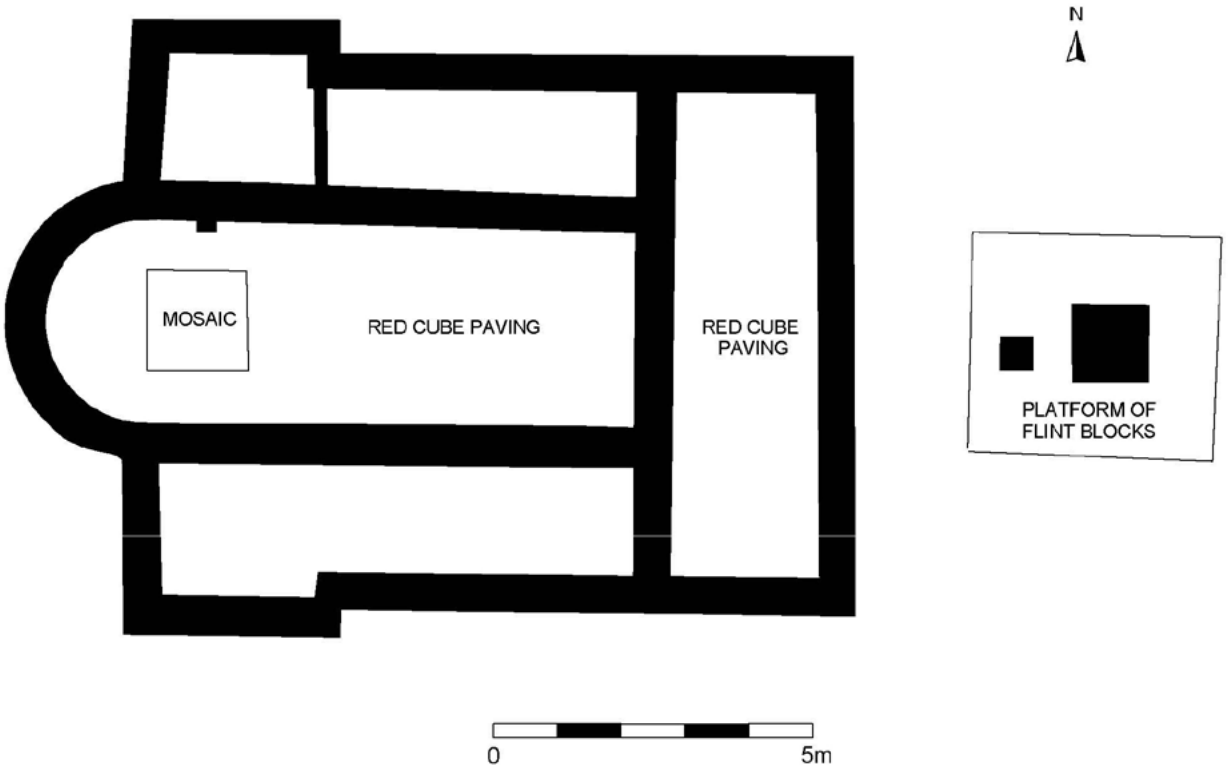


FIGURE 45: POSSIBLE LATE ROMAN CHURCH AT SILCHESTER (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, ADAPTED FROM BOON 1974: 174, FIG.28)

The 5th and 6th Centuries

The evidence within the town indicates some continued activity up to the late 5th or early 6th century (Table 24), after which there appears to have been deliberate abandonment of the settlement. Various discoveries within the town in the 5th and 6th centuries, show evidence of a 'closure' activity.

Four timber buildings within *Insula* IX were still in use in the early 5th century (Fulford *et al.* 2006: 43). At this time a large hearth feature and a pit were dug close to Building 1. The pit contained a range of late Roman artefacts including a nail cleaner, a copper-alloy ring, seven coins (one dating to AD 388-392), a blue glass beaker, and late Roman pottery (*ibid*: 44). Other pits contained evidence for iron-working and iron-smelting, the latest coins were from the House of Theodosius (AD 395-402). There were other pits stratigraphically later than those containing House of Theodosius coins, leading the excavators to propose an end-date of the activity to the later 5th or early 6th century. The final activity is represented by two pits cutting into the foundation trenches of Buildings 1 and 5, both poorly dated.

The final backfilling of a well provides more useful and interesting insights into the final activity. The well was originally excavated in 1893 where an ogham inscribed stone was famously discovered (Fox and Hope 1894: 233-237; Fulford and Sellwood 1980). This was re-excavated from 1998-2000 beyond the limit of the Victorian backfill where, at the base, a well-preserved timber lining and wooden base was revealed (Clarke and Fulford 2000: 10). This was subsequently radiocarbon dated to AD 235-285 (Clarke and Fulford 2002: 148). The column may have come from the portico of Building 1 (see above), and if so the stone could not have been inscribed until the late 5th or early 6th century. The well contained large flint fragments probably from Buildings 1 and 5 and its backfilling represents an abandonment of the nearby buildings. The latest occupation that post-dates the buildings is a series of pits cutting the edge of the street at the intersection of the streets in the north-east corner of the *insula*. They contained late 4th-century material, and one contained part of a glass bead that could be Anglo-Saxon in date (Fulford *et al*. 2006: 75). Elsewhere around this time a small hoard of siliquae and jewellery buried outside the outer earthwork south-west of the town (Fulford *et al*. 1989: 219); and further ironwork hoards are known in wells within *Insulae* I and XXIII (Fulford 2012b: 341).

The 'Silchester Ogham Stone' is written in stem-lines in ogham (a script from the early Irish language), and is the most easterly example discovered in Britain. It was originally translated commemorating EBICATOS (Boon 1974: 77, 1980), but has since been re-examined to actually commemorate a TEBICATOS (Fulford *et al.* 2000: 10). It is an intriguing find, and Boon viewed this as hinting at a settlement inhabited by Irish pilgrims or mercenaries (Boon 1974: 77-78). This may be an over-interpretation, but it should point to an immigrant from Ireland living within the town, probably in the 5th century. Of perhaps greater significance is the choice and ability of an individual to have an epigraphic commemoration and public display (of status) using a Celtic script, which certainly points to a vastly altered 5th century Silchester, presumably consisting of others who could read and understand Ogham script – as opposed to Latin.

The presence of the Ogham Stone, and the absence of early to mid Anglo-Saxon artefacts or burials within the environs of the town (Fulford 2012b: 338) contrasts with the early Anglo-Saxon material found at nearby towns nearby like Winchester (see above) and Dorchester-on-Thames (Morrison 2009: 47, and see Section 7.3). Indeed, a series of linear earthworks the 'Silchester Dykes', lie between Silchester and Dorchester, and no Anglo-Saxon burials lie on the Silchester side of the bank (Dark 2000: 101). It is possible that this represented a boundary of a British kingdom or sub-Roman *civitas* of sorts centred around Silchester (Boon, 1974: 78-80; Dark 2000: 101).

Fragments of human bone were discovered from five locations close to the North Gate (on the road that leads to Dorchester). A cranium from the upper fill of the Roman ditch was radiocarbon dated to AD 420-540 or AD 340-570 (Fulford 2000: 357). The purpose for the skulls within the silted-up ditch by the gate is unknown, though their position by the main road that leads to Anglo-Saxon-occupied Dorchester is intriguing.

The Early 7th Century

Based on the current evidence, Silchester appears to have been deliberately abandoned, and the silver and ironwork in the bottom of wells, along with the skulls in the north ditch, could point to ritual activities celebrating the end-use of buildings and/or habitation within the town. There may have been some minor continuity of settlement, perhaps as a forerunner to the 10th-century village, and indeed Fulford has put forward the idea of an early medieval ecclesiastical foundation centred on the *basilica*, that lasted until the foundation of the 11th-century church and village at the east end of the town (Fulford 2012b: 345) – an attractive possibility that only future excavation may help to answer. Certainly most of the town appears uninhabited from the 7th century onwards. This may have been due to its geographical position, lying between Winchester – the capital of the emerging Wessex kingdom – to the south, and Dorchester-on-Thames to the north. Already an active place in the early Anglo-Saxon period, which became a bishopric by AD 635 (Morrison 2009: 51).

Altering Settlement Forms: Silchester AD 300 - 600

Based on the above evidence and discussions, the following settlement sequences are proposed for Silchester:

- AD 300-350. Urban continuity, metalworking in *forum*

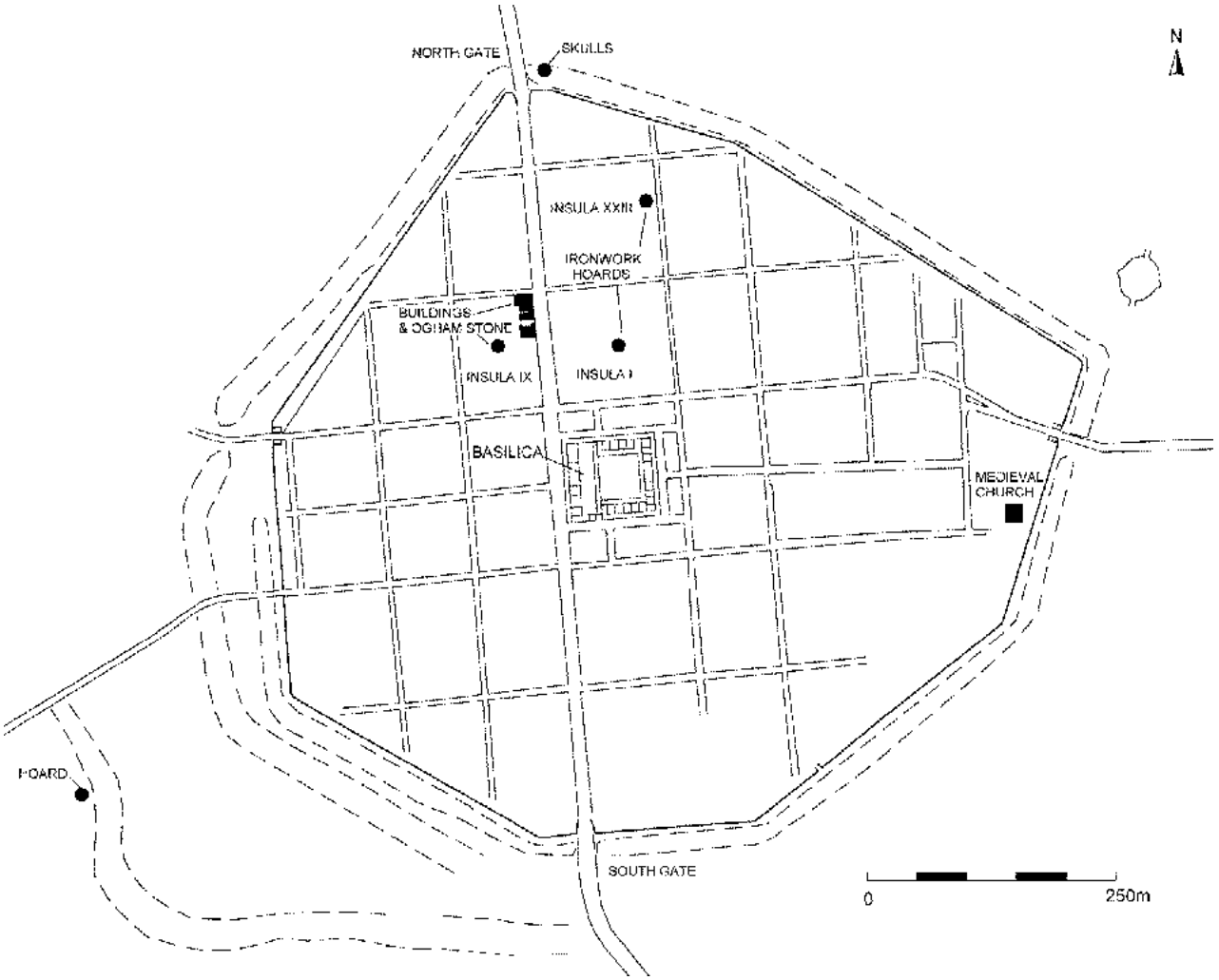


FIGURE 46: 5TH- TO 6TH-CENTURY EVIDENCE FROM SILCHESTER (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, AFTER FULFORD 2012B: 334)

- AD 350-400. Reduced public services, timber housing, Christian presence?
- AD 400-500. Reduced urban settlement
- AD 500+. Settlement failure

The early 4th century sees little change from the late 3rd-century town. The *forum* remained an active space throughout the 4th century, as was the basilica where there was industrial activity (iron-smithing and bronze-working), *that* could be evidence for a state weapons factory. Elsewhere, the huge public baths were reconstructed.

After AD 350, while the metalworking activity persisted within the *forum-basilica*, elsewhere there is evidence for a downsizing in public services: in the baths the *caldarium* was demolished, but other parts of the building remained active. The amphitheatre was probably not used into the later 4th century as the north entrance was allowed to collapse. Unusually, unlike many other towns, Silchester gained no external bastions for its defences. Changes overall appear far more conservative: a wider ditch was added, and the south-east postern was blocked, along with part of the West Gate. Internally, a mix of housing sizes persisted, with timber housing becoming more prominent. A small apsidal building close to the *forum* may represent an (early?) urban church.

In the early 5th century 'urban' settlement continued, consisting of small-scale timber housing and workshops, situated along the main north-south street, while the metalworking activity within the *forum* had ceased. By c. AD 500 the remaining settlement was deliberately abandoned.

4.5 Summary

In summary, the three case study towns in the South-West (Cirencester, Winchester and Silchester), like those in the South-East, share broad similarities of urban transformations from the period AD 300-400, yet each offers contrasting patterns of settlement (continuity / shift / failure) after AD 400.

From the beginning of the 4th century all three towns show urban vitality: two had significant modifications to the town defences, all maintained key public services, and there was a mixture of both high and low status private housing. By *c.* AD 350 significant changes occur within all

the towns: the focus was on maintaining and improving the town defences, while the numbers of public services were reduced. All three appear to contract in settlement size, with evidence for more open spaces. Evidence for Christianity is less strongly defined than in South-East England, with the exception of a possible church at Silchester.

From the early 5th century differing trajectories are evident: Cirencester appears to fail as a settlement, with evidence for a reduced settlement shift; in contrast, at both Silchester and Winchester the towns continued to be lived in throughout the 5th century. At Silchester a 'Sub-Roman' style of 'urban' settlement perhaps continues to the early 6th century, at which point it is abandoned. Conversely, at Winchester the settlement took on a more ruralised Anglo-Saxon appearance by the mid-5th century, with evidence for new material culture (and people?) living within the walls before the founding of the minster in the early 7th century.

Chapter 5:

Urban Sequences in the Midlands

5.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the transformations and trajectories of the major Roman towns in the English Midlands from *c.* AD 300 - *c.* 600. The geographical area is broadly defined as the modern regions of the East Midlands (namely Leicestershire and Lincolnshire) and West Midlands (Shropshire). There were three major Roman towns here, namely Leicester, Lincoln, and Wroxeter, all connected by a road system and with smaller settlements (Figure 47). Roman urbanism here arguably was less ingrained than in regions to the south. Traditionally, towns in the eastern half of the Midlands will have seen the earliest raids, and from contact with settlement by new 'Anglo-Saxon' populations from the later 4th century, and fully from the mid-5th century onwards. The western area of this region (Wroxeter) may have had less contact from these Anglo-Saxon groups. Theoretically, therefore, Lincoln should see the shortest Roman continuity and earliest Anglo-Saxon activity, and Wroxeter the longest.

As undertaken in Chapters 3 and 4 each major town will be explored in turn, observing the varied structures and material guides of change across the study period. Each in turn has benefitted from strong levels of recent (and fairly recent) archaeological attention, enabling valuable insights into post-classical forms.

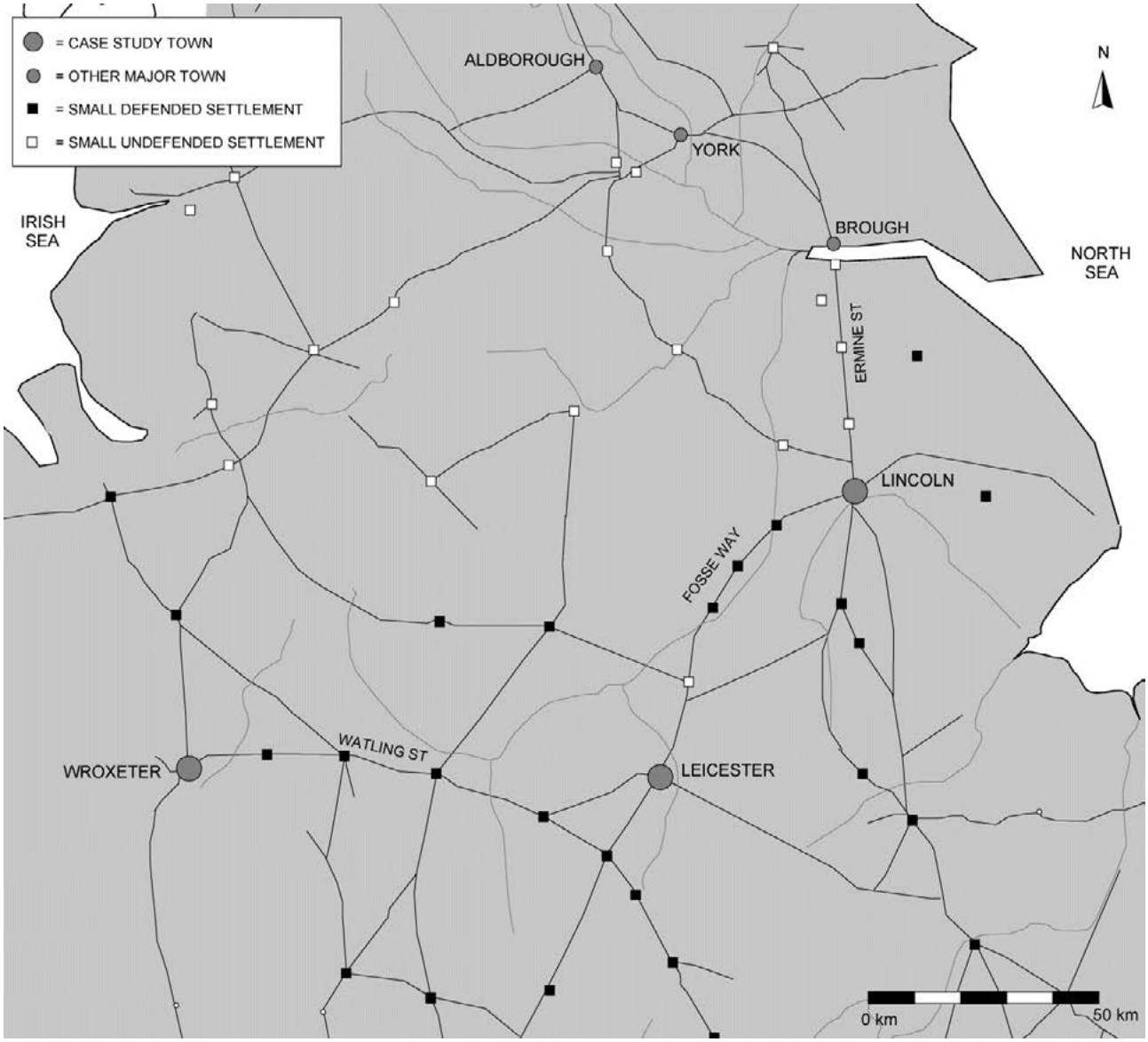


FIGURE 47: CASE STUDY TOWNS IN THE MIDLANDS (DRAWN BY AUTHOR)

5.2 Leicester

Geographically, Leicestershire has two distinct topographic areas: the western half is dominated by the higher ground of Charnwood Forest, while the eastern and north-eastern areas have a more rolling clayland landscape. Roman Leicester (Ratae Corieltauvorium) lies at the centre of the regional Roman road network, the larger routes being the north-south Fosse Way (leading to Exeter to Lincoln), and Watling Street that leads to Wroxeter. There are around 12 'small towns', fairly evenly spread across the region (Figure 48).

The Archaeological Resource

Leicester has a long history of archaeological investigations: although 19th-century studies were limited, with observations and chance discoveries giving patchy indication of the Roman past (Haverfield 1918; Thompson 1849), major excavations came in the 20th century commencing with Kathleen Kenyon at the Roman public baths of Jewry Wall in the 1930s (Kenyon 1948), and with subsequent excavations of a townhouse and *macellum* (Wacher 1959; N. Cooper forthcoming), at the *forum-basilica* (Hebditch and Mellor 1973; Hagar 2007), and in the Bath Lane area (Clay and Mellor 1985; Clay and Pollard 1994). The town defences have been variously investigated (see Buckley and Lucas 1987), and more recent excavations have refined their chronology (L. Cooper forthcoming; Jarvis 2012). Larger excavations in the late 1980s and early 1990s located late Roman and Anglo-Saxon evidence at Causeway Lane (Connor and Buckley 1999), the Shires (Buckley and Lucas 2007), and Bonners Lane (Finn 2004; Gossip 1999a, 1999b; see also Buckley and Cooper 2003. Since the formation of University of Leicester Archaeological Services (ULAS) in 1995, ULAS has undertaken all major urban excavations, including three major excavations all part of 'Highcross Leicester' in 2005-06 (Buckley 2007; Coward and Speed 2009; Gnanaratnam 2009; Higgins *et al.* 2009; Tate 2007). These latter have dramatically improved our understanding of late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon Leicester. Figure 48 shows that most major investigations have taken place in the north-east area, with smaller sites in the *forum* area, and a few to the south. Notable gaps are in the north-west and south-east areas, and alongside the river Soar on the town's west flank.

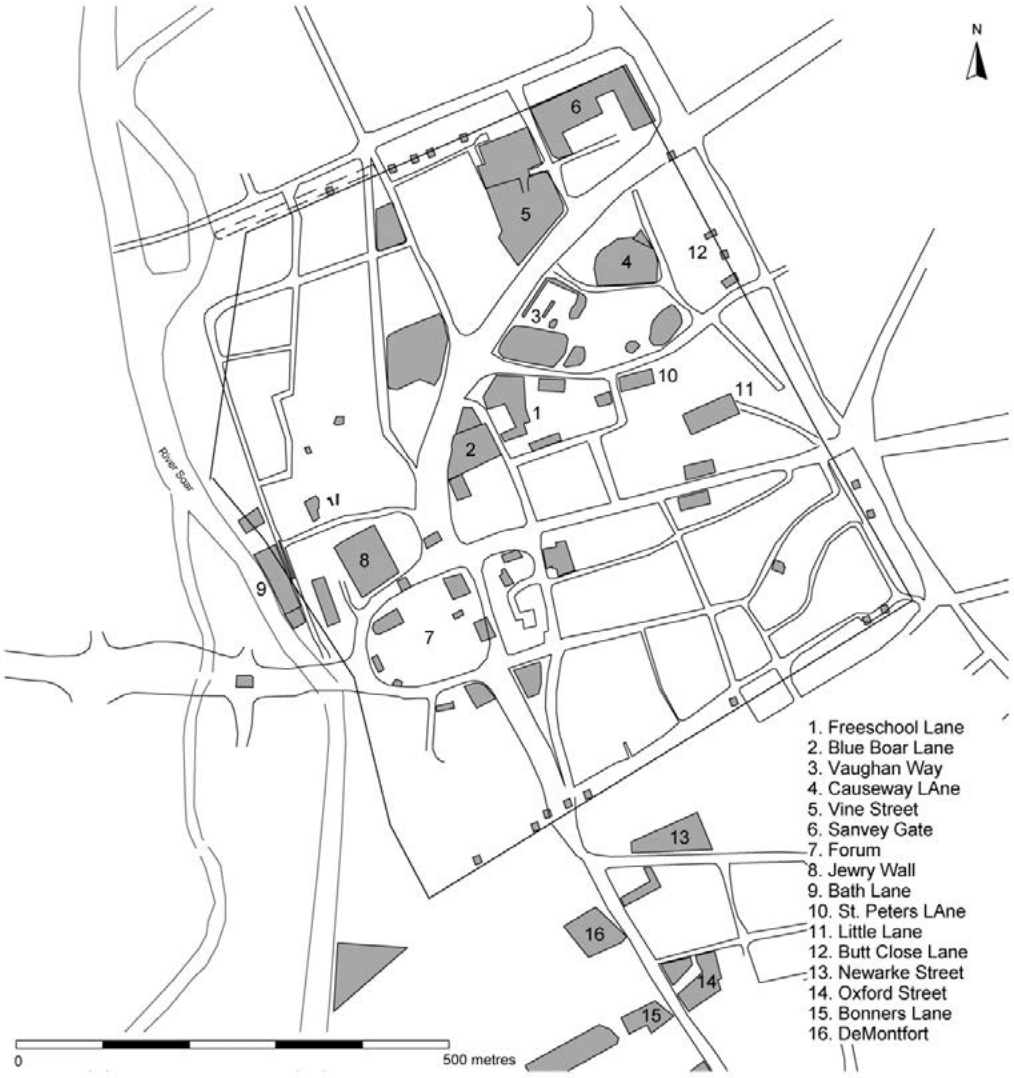


Figure 48: Location of major excavations in Leicester (drawn by author)

Origins and Development

Leicester's earliest Roman settlement was established on the east bank of the river Soar, close to the existing Iron Age settlement (Clay and Pollard 1994: 46). Subsequently, Leicester was probably constituted as a *civitas* capital *(Ratae Corieltauvorium)* in *c.* AD 100-120, at which time the street grid began to be formalised with new buildings – chiefly of timber – aligned on it (Buckley and Lucas 1987: 10). From the mid- to late 2nd century, a major programme of construction of public buildings was underway, which included the forum-basilica (Hebditch and Mellor 1973), Jewry Wall baths (Kenyon 1948), along with temples and smaller commercial and residential buildings (Clay and Mellor 1985). Some large masonry townhouses were constructed or enlarged during this period, such as on Blue Boar Lane, close to the forum (Wacher 1959), and Vine Street, located in the north-east (Higgins *et al*. 2009). Earth and timber town defences were probably built in the late 2nd century and a masonry wall added to the front of the rampart, probably in the later 3rd century (Buckley and Lucas 1987: 42).

The 4th Century

Town Defences

The defences ran for a length of 2.6km, enclosing an area of 42.5 ha; the major road – Fosse Way – passed between the east to west gates. Along the northern stretch at Sanvey Gate a large section of the town defences was excavated which revealed that perhaps in the late 3rd century the

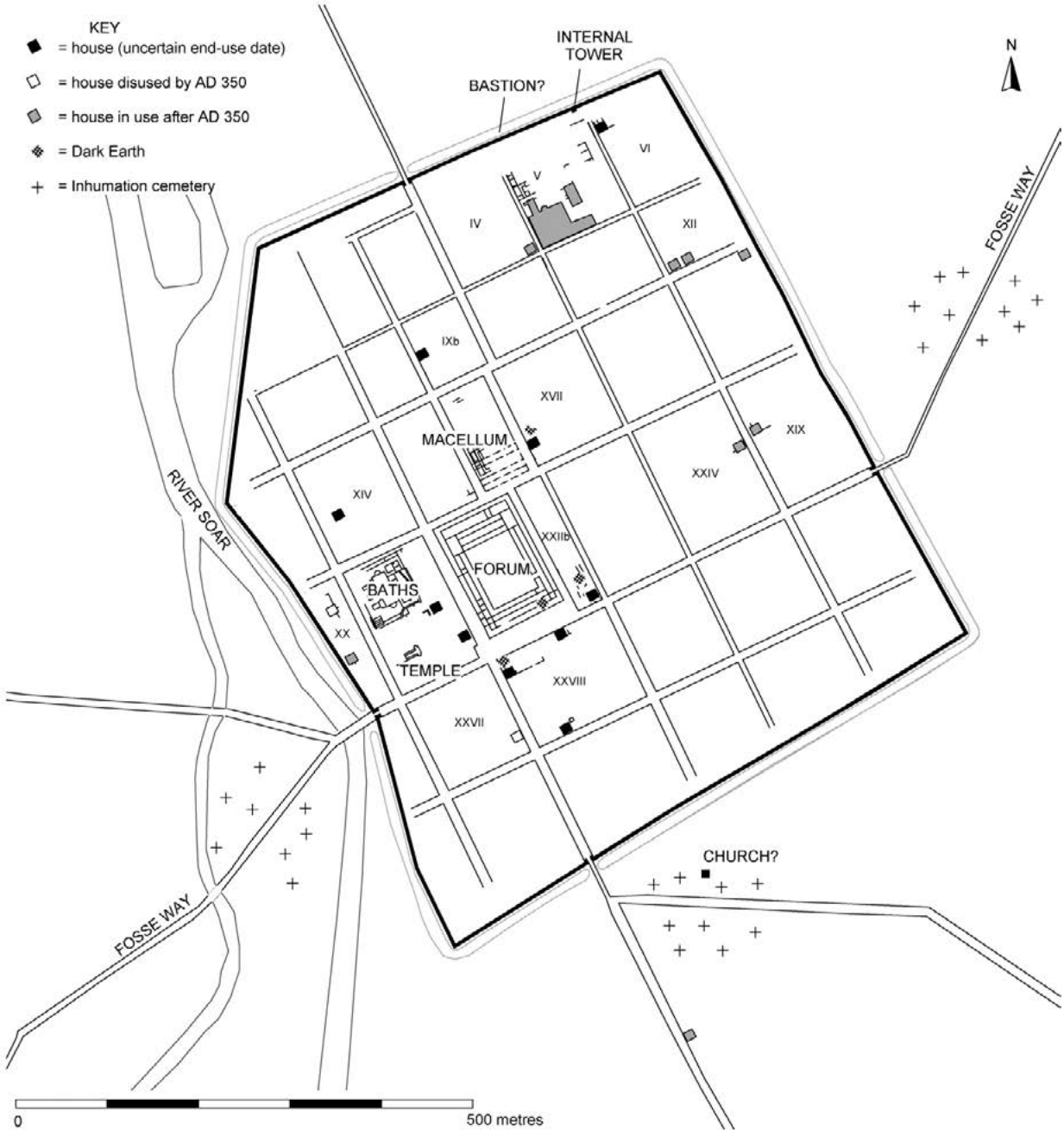


FIGURE 49: 4TH-CENTURY LEICESTER (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, DATA FROM ULAS)

stone wall, consisting of roughly formed granite courses, was added and the rampart was remodelled and enlarged. Subsequently, in the 4th century, a square internal tower was built, and the outer ditch re-cut (a C14 date of AD 430-620 comes from a primary fill in the re-cut) (Jarvis 2012: 59-61, and pers. comm.). Wacher believed he had evidence for foundations of an external bastion projecting over the edge of the inner ditch (Wacher 1974: 336), but this view was later rejected following other investigations in the area (Cooper 1998: 104). The evidence may be scant, but it seems likely that most of the circuit was still upstanding in the medieval period, implying a level of post-Roman maintenance.

Public Structures

In *c*. AD 300, the *forum* was re-modelled with rooms enlarged. One room showed evidence for industrial activity, with remains of a hearth and 'many unidentified bronze fragments and a number of coins' (Hebditch and Mellor 1973: 18), including two slightly worn coins of Carausius (AD 286-293). Previously it was argued that the civic centre suffered a major fire in the 4th century which 'swept through the centre of the town' and never recovered (Wacher 1995: 362). This view was based mainly on the *forum-basilica* excavations with fires attested in three of the side rooms (Hebditch and Mellor 1973: 42). However, close inspection in the only area that had not suffered too greatly from later truncations, showed how floors were re-laid following the fire, enabling continued use of the *forum* space. A coin of Valens (AD 364-78) gives a *terminus post quem* for this re-laid floor (*ibid*: 42). Furthermore, there is (undated) remodelling to rooms in the south wing (rooms 13 and 14); here a shop unit had accumulations of road silts within it, up to 30cm thick; the wall between the two rooms was knocked through and a new floor laid (*ibid*: 18). This may indicate a period of reduced usage, followed by renewed activity later in the 4th century. Over the floors of some of the rooms were fragments of wall plaster and 4th-century pottery. How long the *forum* remained in use beyond AD 364-78 must remain uncertain.

In *Insula* XVI, to the north of the *forum* was the *macellum*. Excavated in 1958 by John Wacher, and further evaluated in 2001 (Meek 2002) and 2003 (Derrick 2005), this large structure was built towards *c*. AD 300 – thus quite late for a public building. In the late 4th century, the *macellum* may have been used for other purposes beyond a market, since the outer west colonnade featured a small glass furnace, along with evidence for a cupellation furnace nearby (Wacher 1995: 358; Cooper forthcoming). The end-use of the *macellum* is uncertain, but it was certainly upstanding in the 5th century, and likely part-survived into the medieval period. Evidence of some decay, however, is seen at Freeschool Lane (Figure 53) where the east gable-end collapsed no earlier than the early 5th century (Coward and Speed 2009: 40; Speed 2005). Meanwhile, earlier excavations in the west wing discovered (undated) burnt roof timbers and fallen wall debris over which lay an accumulation of silts, succeeded by 'a rough pebble floor' (Wacher 1995: 362), indicating further re-use of the *macellum* structure in the 5th century.

The public baths in *Insula* XXI, immediately west of the *forum,* were excavated in the 1930s (Kenyon 1948). The excavation report notes heavy truncation from later activity that wiped out most of the latest Roman levels, although in some parts evidence did survive: '…only over the deep sinkages, where the continued subsidence of the soil has carried them below the general level' (*ibid*: 36). The latest courtyard surfaces are dated by pottery to the first quarter of the 4th century, but later floor patches and surfaces in rooms VI and VII and 'south of the drain in the south-east angle' had material dating these to AD 360-70 (*ibid:* 36). The report states that 'It is clear that as late, or even later floors once existed all over the area (from the evidence)…found in the robber trenches and other disturbed areas' (*ibid*: 36). The final Roman activity is represented by seven House of Theodosius coins (AD 379+). Kenyon argued that the small number of coins 'points to a practical abandonment in the very late fourth or early fifth century…' (*ibid*: 279). Notable, however, are finds of a mid-5th century strap-end (*ibid*: 255), along with other bronze objects of late 4th- to early 5th-century date, including a Late Roman military belt-fitting, and a cruciform ornament (*ibid*: fig.84).

Housing

Private buildings are well attested in Leicester, and Wacher's (1995) plot shows a spread of tessellated pavements throughout the town, the larger excavated examples broadly in three areas: close to the river along the eastern-edge of the town (the Bath Lane sites); close to the *forum*; and in the north-east. Most of these buildings have only been partially excavated, but their endurance has prompted varied claims – some scholars arguing for a continued and thriving town life in the 4th century (Mellor 1976: 21), and others claiming a 'decline' at the beginning of the 4th century, with very few buildings in use (Faulkner 1998: 256). Now, in the light of results from the Highcross excavations – and in particular Vine Street – significant new information can be added to reveal a far from straightforward image of the 4th-century townscape (Figure 49).

There are currently 23 excavated non-public buildings that appear to have been constructed or modified in the 4th century (see Table 17), and three that may have continued in use into the early 5th century. As noted, the data are based on a low number of examples, many not well dated: 44% of these can only be broadly dated to the 4th century; of the remaining buildings far more continue in use into the second half of the 4th century (50%), with 13% going out of use in the first half of the century. These results are based on information directly from the relevant excavation reports, and strikingly contradict Faulkner's claim of a swift decline in buildings at the beginning of the 4th century (Faulkner 1998: 256).

The known 4th-century buildings are split fairly evenly within two areas of the town: 10 buildings are located close to the *forum*, while the remainder are broadly focused in the

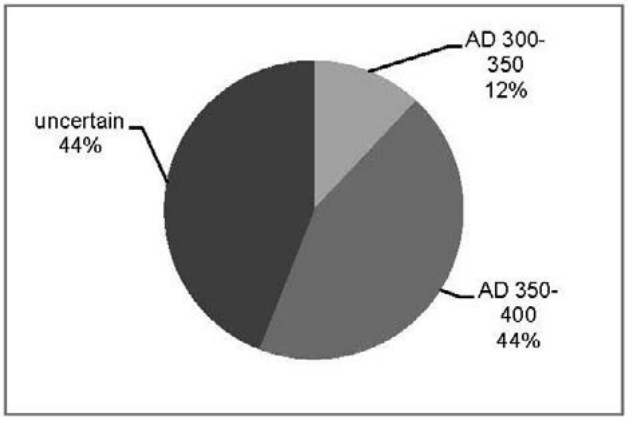


FIGURE 50: LONGEVITY OF 4TH-CENTURY PRIVATE HOUSING IN LEICESTER (23 BUILDINGS).

north-east – though this in part reflects where excavations have taken place. Most of the buildings that continue in use beyond AD 350 are located in the north-east zone.

Those in the *forum* area are less well dated, with seven buildings only given a broad 4th-century date. A building in *Insula* XXI originating in the 2nd century had three tessellated pavements added in the early part of the century (Play and Pollard 1994: 10), although the smaller 'mosaic 2' could be set to the late 4th century. The quality of the mosaics is far lower than earlier 2nd-century mosaics, the designs being much simpler (Smith 1994: 50). Interestingly there is some evidence for patching up of both pavements, suggesting some longevity in use of the building. Crucially the mosaics imply continued high-status activity – something that is reflected at Vine Street. Yet in the immediate area, other 3rd-century buildings (e.g. one in *Insula* XX) appear to have been in disrepair and partly demolished in the early part of the 4th century (Cooper 1996: 83).

A contrast lies in the increase in timber buildings and activity that often encroaches onto the streets. Thus, at Freeschool Lane the edge of the Roman street had a series of hearths along with pits and post-holes cut into it, dated by coins to after AD 375-378 (Coward and Speed 2009: 29). Following this an accumulation of clay and a post-pad indicate a timber structure built into the edge of the street (*ibid*: 30). Another possible timber structure built onto the street occurs on the west side of *Insula* XXVIII (Clay and Pollard 1994: 24), as well as the extra–mural roadside building at Bonner's Lane (Finn 2004: 14).

Excavations in the north-east of a large courtyard townhouse shows that it was at its most developed stage in the early 4th century (Higgins *et al.* 2009: 143). In *c.* AD 300 a substantial rectangular building was constructed immediately east of this courtyard building. It measured 23 x 12m, its deep foundations suggesting a two-storey structure. It most likely had a public (building) function – not though a temple or granary – perhaps a warehouse. Structures similar to this have been discovered at London, Colchester, and Lincoln (see Section 6.5). The courtyard townhouse remained in use until around AD 350, the latest activity consisting of several dispersed coin hoards (one containing 539 coins) and in an adjacent room, a lead ingot had been deliberately buried and covered over with roofing slates (*ibid*: 180). Following this the building was dramatically re-modelled and put to a different use: its northern half was demolished, the building material used for some other purpose; the street-frontage rooms were split into small workshops or shop units – including a smithy and bone-pin manufacturing (*ibid*: 185) – signifying a major status change, though not 'decline'. This may reveal an increasing population, one actively producing commercial and industrial services. The end-use date for these workshops was in the latter half of the 4th century at the earliest.

There is evidence for five timber structures in the north-east area. At Vine Street, a timber structure within *Insula* IV lay at the junction of two streets (Higgins *et al.* 2009: 70), and was aligned with the street and partially truncated the road surface. It consisted of four large post-holes spaced 1.5m along the road. The exact construction date is unclear, since pottery recovered from the post-holes was scarce and comprised residual Roman material ranging from the 2nd to 4th centuries AD, along with some early Anglo-Saxon sherds. Conceivably this may even be an early Anglo-Saxon structure. At Causeway Lane three timber buildings (two constructed over a backfilled quarry) within *Insula* XIX have been excavated (Connor and Buckley 1999: 43-47). One building was built in the early 4th century and the latest coins here run to AD 375-378. A second building featured an associated hearth or furnace, probably post-dating AD 354-364. The third building is dated by a coin to after AD 388. Another timber building of unclear form, excavated at Butt Close Lane, set immediately adjacent to the rampart (Buckley and Lucas 1987: 30-38), post-dates AD 321-322.

Soils and Space

It is uncertain for how long the streets were maintained in the 4th century, but in two areas the latest street surfaces appear patched up following major rutting, notably in a road on the north side of the baths; on its surface was a considerable quantity of 4th-century pottery (Kenyon 1948: 31). Also at Little Lane (within *Insulae* XXIV and XXV) the street immediately fronting two 3rd- to 4th-century buildings had become worn by rutting and appears to have been repaired (Buckley and Lucas 2007: 59). As well as buildings, pits also encroached onto the edge of streets in some sectors (e.g. Bonner's Lane, Freeschool Lane, and Vine Street), perhaps indicating weakened urban control.

Within Roman Leicester dark earth deposits have so far been located in areas surrounding the *forum*, but until recently have received little scientific analysis. At Freeschool Lane the hearths and pits cutting the edge of the street were

Figure 51: Hearths cutting into the edge of a Roman street. From excavations in 2006 at Freeschool Lane, Leicester (Coward and Speed 2009: 31)

covered by a thick layer of dark organic soils (Figure 53, and Coward and Speed 2009: 37). These deposits have been subject to micromorphological analysis, which revealed that the earliest soils consisted of dumped deposits of building and domestic waste, followed by dumps of burnt daub and coprolites; the final dumping sequence appears to have been animal waste (*ibid*: 38). Dumps were probably from the early 5th century onwards, and the presence of both late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon artefacts indicate the soil denotes open waste ground throughout the 5th century. Similar dark earth deposits are recorded within disused buildings in *Insulae* XXIIb, XXVIII, and on the edge of the street south of the forum (Hagar 2007: 5). While these soils do represent an active population, the implications are of a townscape with a vastly differing persona compared to previous centuries. Equally this implies significant change in the control and maintenance of waste material – now being left in 'convenient' spaces.

Religious Structures and Burials

Roman Leicester's religious landscape is poorly known: only one pagan temple (a *mithraeum*?) has been partly investigated, in *Insula* XXI south of the baths, of a basilican plan and measuring 6.1m x 15.2m. A scatter of coins on the latest floor suggested a declining use (or disuse?) after AD 360 (Wacher 1974: 354). The only other evidence for potential religious activity within the town is from a possible shrine structure to the side of the courtyard of the Vine Street townhouse in the mid-4th century (Higgins *et al.* 2009: 119).

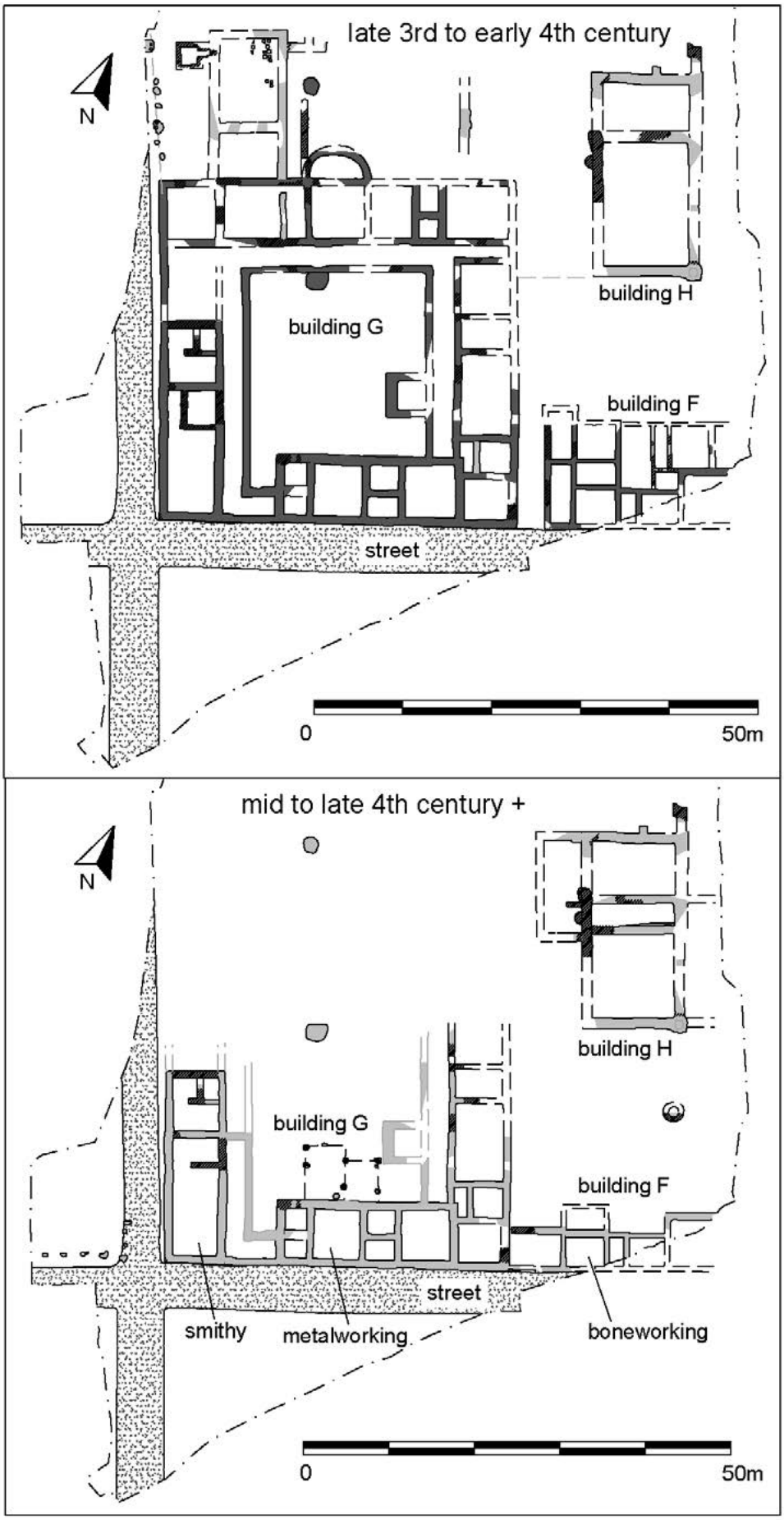


FIGURE 52: TRANSITION FROM TOWNHOUSE TO WORKSHOPS AT VINE STREET, LEICESTER (ADAPTED FROM HIGGINS *ET AL*. 2009)

Figure 53: Late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon sequence at Freeschool Lane, Leicester (drawn by author)

Roman cemeteries are known on the main routes outside of the town, the largest excavations having occurred outside the South Gate (Cooper 1996; Derrick 2009) and East Gate (Gardner 2005), with inhumations best represented (Cooper 1996: 1). Further excavations in 2012 have recovered part of a late Roman cemetery outside the West Gate (R. Buckley, pers. comm.). Evidence for Late Roman Christianity is extremely scant, but from the south cemetery – around Newarke St. – there are potential Christian burials, since graves are laid out in rows with minimal intercutting, the bodies laid supine, extended with head to the west. There were no grave finds, and most burials had a discontinuous grave lining, using flat stones (roofing slates or reused ceramic building tile) (Derrick 2009: 63). Two funerary structures were recorded within this cemetery, one of a post-and-beam construction that

measured 4.8m wide and at least 5m in length (it ran into the limit of the excavation). This contained no burials, but the burials around it respected it. One could speculate that this is a church (Derrick 2009: 97), though there is no clear supporting proof. The only other evidence of possible Christian activity is from the *forum* area, with part of a Roman brick displaying a chi-rho graffito made before firing (Hebditch and Mellor 1973: 387).

The 5th and 6th Centuries

At Leicester evidence for an early post-Roman population was until recently based solely on a scattering of residual finds within the intra-mural area. Since 2005, fuller structural data of possible 5th- or 6th-century date have emerged during major excavations (Speed 2010, 2013; *Table* 18). The plan below (Figure 55) shows – for the first time – all settlement traces of the early Anglo-Saxon period.

Two zones of settlement are proposed: the first is focused on the Roman *Insula* XVII, an area close to the town's civic centre, though in a zone that has little or no Roman structural evidence, and potentially a largely open area throughout the Roman period and so devoid of upstanding, ruinous buildings in the 5th century. A second focus perhaps lay 300 metres north, in the far north-east corner of the town, where at least four Anglo-Saxon buildings have been located, along with many objects of 5th- to 6th-century date. The finds distribution indicates other points of activity, with a focus along the major roadways, suburban settlement to the south, and burial evidence outside the gates.

Each of the four buildings within *Insula* XVII are Sunken-Featured Buildings (SFBs), all similar in form. Excavations along the street-front of Highcross Street revealed an SFB built on top of a collapsed wall from a Roman building (Coward and Speed 2009: 48): the gable-end wall of the *macellum* had collapsed across the north-south street that separated *Insulae* XVI and XVII, probably in the early 5th century. Cutting into the top of the collapsed Roman wall was a small SFB oriented on a similar alignment to the Roman street and later medieval High Street, dated by pottery of the 5th to 6th centuries, and close to it more pottery sherds and a Small-Long brooch. Two annular brooches were in fact discovered immediately opposite in 1864 (Historic Environment Record MLE992). Another SFB was located 120m east (Coward and Speed 2009: 62), of slightly larger, and again of 'two-post', form. Immediately to its east, the largest number of 5th- to 6th-century pottery sherds from a single excavation was recovered at St. Peter's Lane (Buckley and Lucas 2007: 50). 55 sherds of pottery were found all within later features, along with a triangular bone comb that could be from the first half of the 5th century (Ian Riddler, pers. comm.). Excavations 100m south-east at Little Lane recovered 29 sherds, again all residual in later layers (Buckley and Lucas 2007: 104). Around 80m north – still within *Insula* XVII – were a further two possible buildings (Gnanaratnam 2009: 33), set just 2.5m apart; one lay close to the edge of a backfilled Roman quarry. This had a series of stake-holes in the base, but overall is similar in form to the other SFBs, being a small building with two axial post holes (*ibid*: 34).

In the far north-east corner of the town, two buildings dating to the 5th to 6th century AD have been identified at Sanvey Gate (Jarvis 2012: 63-64). Post-holes were found adjacent to a Roman street, and could denote one or two structures. Further back from the street, a post-hole contained a near-complete Anglo-Saxon vessel; there was also a large pit. Numerous other Anglo-Saxon finds from other excavations and chance discoveries in the zone perhaps indicate fairly scattered and dispersed settlement. Finds include pottery from Vine Street (Higgins *et al.* 2009: 200); pottery and a beating pin from Causeway Lane (Connor and Buckley 1999: 43); nine Anglo-Saxon artefacts found on the edge of a wicker-lined well (MLC0038); and a 5th- to 6th-century brooch at Butt Close Lane (MLC987).

Various artefacts (chiefly pottery, brooches, pins) have been discovered between the SFB discovered at Freeschool Lane along a 200m stretch to the intersection with the east-west Roman/medieval streets. Other finds are clustered on streets surrounding the former Roman public structures, and close to the (medieval) street frontages, suggesting that by this stage the Roman street grid was beginning to be lost. The collapsed *macellum* wall across the north-south street at Freeschool Lane (Coward and Speed 2009: 43), and layers of 'dark soil' over the street to the south of the *forum* (Hagar 2007: 1), point to new routes forming around the Roman urban debris. The principal medieval north-south route through the town thus lies slightly east of its Roman predecessor, but skirting around the *forum* (Buckley and Lucas 1987: 15), indicating its continued physical presence on the townscape. All told, potentially, the distribution of the earlier Anglo-Saxon finds signifies that an area was continuing to be used for market trading or occasional fairs – activities that leave little archaeological trace.

Evidence for burials – cremation and possibly inhumation – of an early 'Pagan' Anglo-Saxon date, have been discovered immediately outside both the East and West Gates, continuing Roman traditions of extra-mural burial. Those outside the East Gate, however, were dug in the late 19th century and lack accurate recording (Page 1907: 227). Outside the West Gate – again all found in the late 19th century – the burials were located on the eastern side of Fosse Way, close to the river. The graves contained many artefacts, including a number of swords, suggestive of high status burials (*ibid*: 230).

Widening out the picture, of known Anglo-Saxon settlements within Leicestershire, most occur in the eastern half of the county (Knox 2004: 96) see Figure 57 – although this may simply indicate where most fieldwork has taken place. Certainly there have been substantial fieldwalking surveys in east Leicestershire, but these have enhanced our

Figure 54: An Anglo-Saxon building constructed within a collapsed Roman wall, Freeschool Lane, Leicester (Coward and Speed 2009: 43)

understanding of settlement patterns, rather than biasing the data to any substantial degree (see Liddle 1996). They reveal a mixed rural settlement pattern, with some late 'Roman' sites also containing Anglo-Saxon pottery. This is interpreted by some as late Romano-British families continuing to farm their land, and simply utilising the new material culture (Liddle 1994; Cooper 1996). Around 12 'small towns', fairly evenly spread across the county, are known, some showing evidence for continued settlement in the post-Roman period: at Ravenstone there is a post-built structure with associated Anglo-Saxon pottery (N. Cooper, pers. comm.); at Great Casterton there are Anglo-Saxon burials within a late Roman cemetery (Burner and Wacher 1990: 135); and at Barrow upon Soar there are artefacts of Anglo-Saxon date (Knox 2004: 102). Along with continuity of some settlements, we should also note examples of new settlements away from earlier Roman sites, often onto more defendable locations (Knox 2004: 103).

Hawkes notes two specific areas of settlement within middle east Leicestershire during this period: the south-east area around Medbourne, and the north-east along the River Wreake (Hawkes 2007:184). The settlement at Leicester would therefore fit into the group of scattered settlements (small farmsteads?) focused on the river valleys of the Soar and Wreake, stretching broadly from Leicester to Eye Kettleby. The Soar may have played an important role as a major territorial boundary in the Anglo-Saxon period, Leicester's position on this giving it a heightened role. The wide distribution of locally produced pottery known as 'CHARN' or Charnwood (this also found in Lincoln and London – see Vince 2003: 147), may suggest a significant population here. Various Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are known within a few kilometres of Leicester, and this local concentration of settlements and burials – and settlement within the town walls – indicates the importance of the settlement in the early post-Roman period. It is clear that the once-urban space of Leicester still had a draw to it for existing and new populations in the 5th and 6th centuries AD. The reason for this may be a combination of both practicalities – given its convenient well-connected location, and a desire to live within a once major urban centre. Its importance may have continued as a small trading centre / market, or meeting place. It is also entirely possible that the town was used by a new emerging local elite during this time, utilising the fortified space as a new royal centre, a central place (perhaps even a 'royal' centre) to control an extended area.

The Early 7th Century

In AD 679 the large Mercian see, centred on Lichfield, was split into smaller bishoprics based at Hereford, Worcester, Dorchester, and Leicester (Kirby 1966: 2). Leicester's selection could denote that this was already a focus of some population. The problem comes with trying to identify – archaeologically – evidence for a

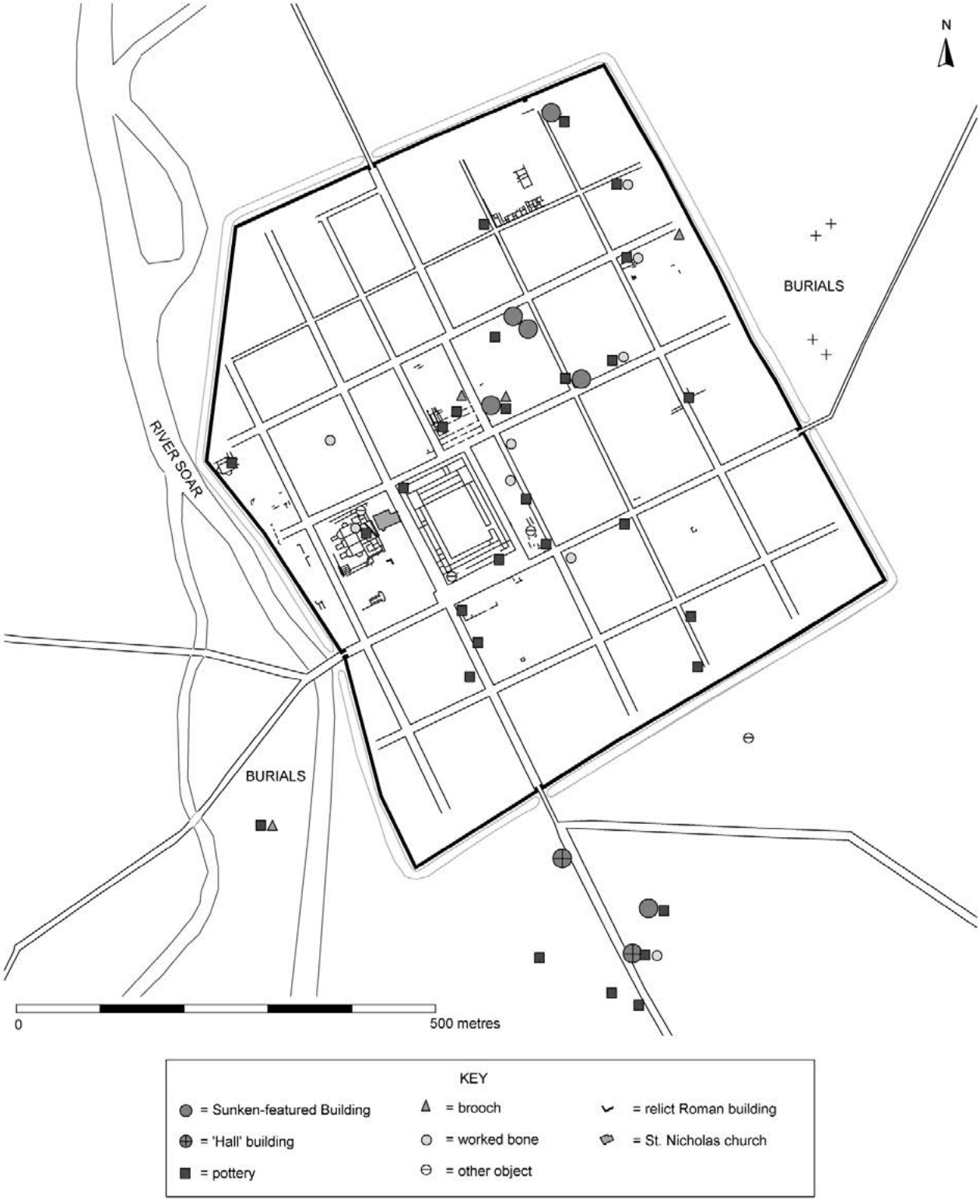


FIGURE 55: 5TH- TO7TH-CENTURY SETTLEMENT EVIDENCE WITHIN LEICESTER (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, DATA FROM LEICESTER UAD AND ULAS UNPUBLISHED SOURCES)

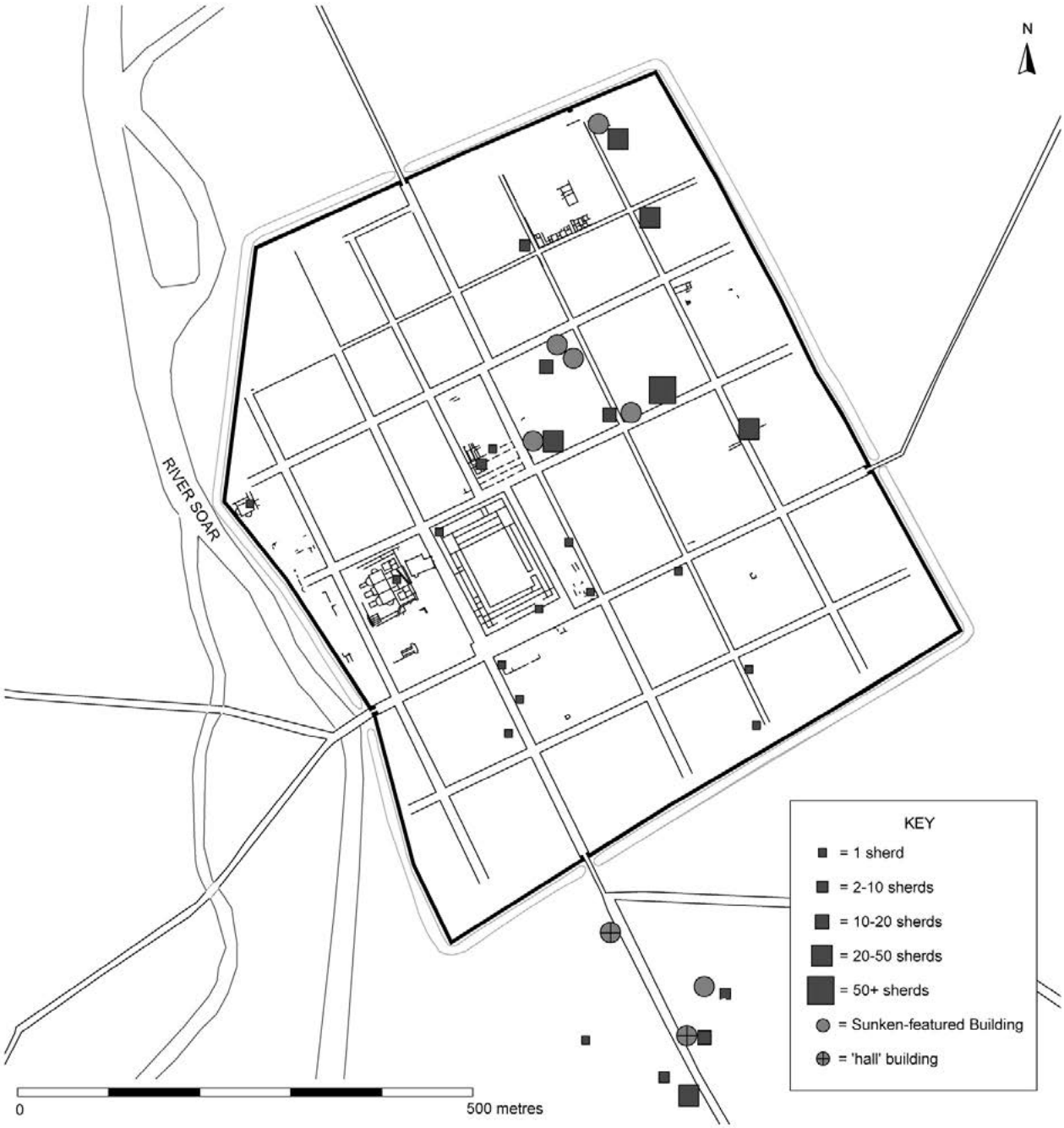


Figure 56: Quantities of Anglo-Saxon pottery found compared to locations of Anglo-Saxon buildings in Leicester (drawn by author)

church and settlement activity from this period. The site of the early cathedral was first proposed at the church of St. Nicholas by Kenyon (1948: 8), stating this as a reason why the Roman Jewry Wall remains are still upstanding (Figure 58). Possible structural evidence for this early church came in her excavations as rough Anglo-Saxon stone foundations, cutting Roman levels associated with the Jewry Wall, and cut by the Late Anglo-Saxon church (Ellis 1969: 27). Potentially this early church was built into the surviving upstanding Roman building (Courtney 1998: 129), immediately adjacent to the Roman *forum*. A position in the centre of the old Roman town – comparable to Lincoln's St. Paul-in-the-Bail (Gilmour 2007, see Section 5.3) – perhaps was a symbolic choice, colonising former core Roman space.

At least three Anglo-Saxon structures as well as artefacts have been discovered around 250 metres to the south of the Roman South Gate, indicating a small extra-mural settlement along the edge of the main (Roman/medieval) street into Leicester. A building identified at Bonner's Lane is a hybrid form between an SFB and later 'hall' structure: it was located to the rear of a 4th-century road-side building and featured eight post-holes (cut into the

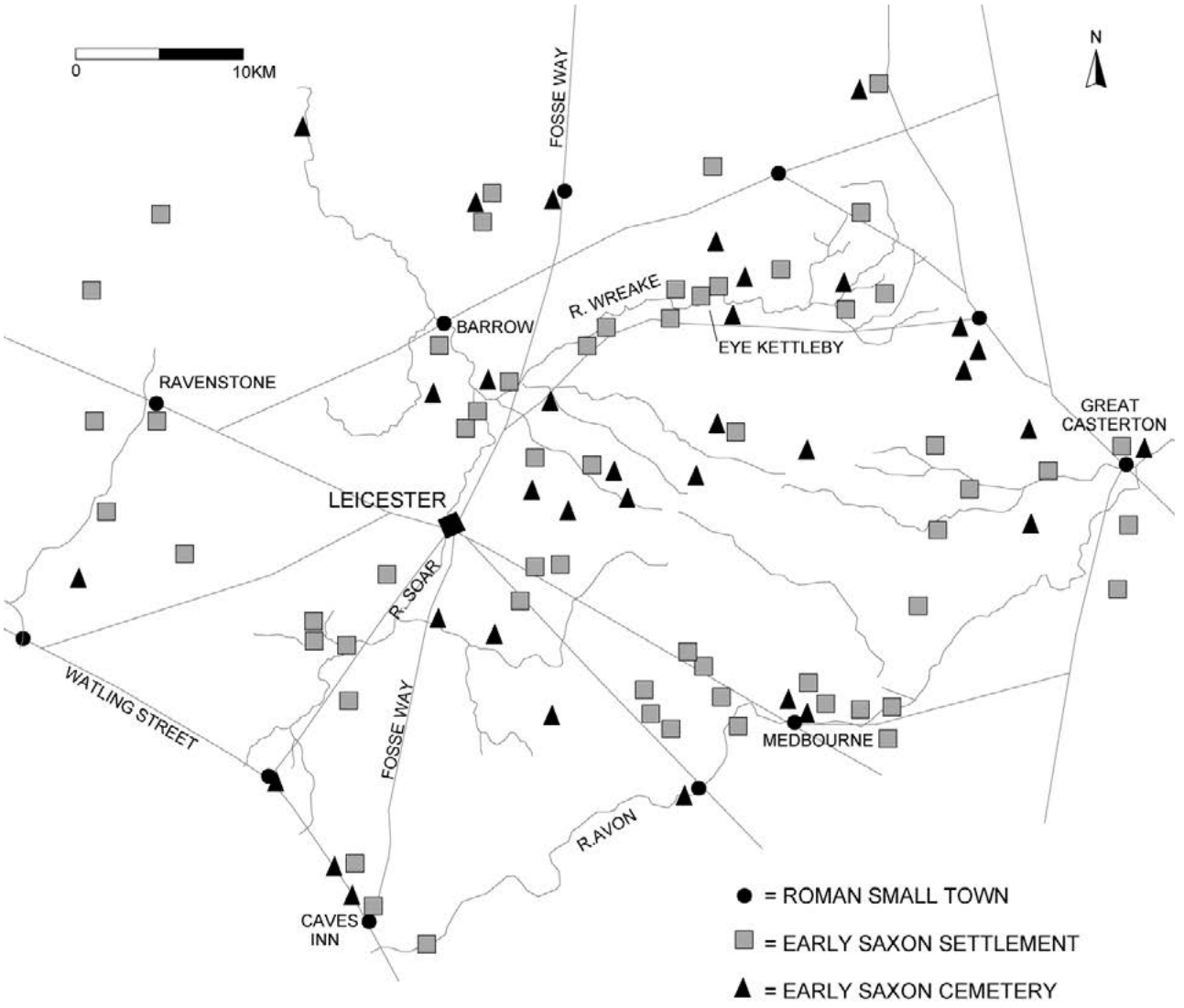


FIGURE 57: EARLY ANGLO-SAXON ACTIVITY IN LEICESTERSHIRE IN RELATION TO FORMER ROMAN TOWNS AND ROADS (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, UPDATED FROM LIDDLE 2004: FIG.1; KNOX 2004: FIG.1; AND ULAS UNPUBLISHED SOURCES)

base) at regular intervals around the edge of a rectangular sunken-cut. Fifteen stake-holes identified around the edge of the sunken-feature close to the post-holes may represent the outer walls (Finn 2004: 15). Its form is much larger and more developed than the other SFBs in Leicester, indicating a typologically later date, though early large SFBs are known at Mucking (Hamerow 1993) and West Stow (West 1985). A badly truncated, undated, structure of similar form was located close by at DeMontfort (Morris 2010: 47). A third SFB, 30 metres to the north-east at Oxford Street (Gossip 1999a: 28), measured 3 x 2.25m, and was similar in form to the buildings at Freeschool Lane (and so could actually date to the early Anglo-Saxon period). Other excavations in the area show a concentration of pottery sherds that could indicate a small settlement, situated along the main route into the town from the south – perhaps a start of suburban renewal / growth.

However, pottery is of little help in dating mid- Anglo-Saxon settlement. The buildings at Bonner's Lane and Oxford Street both contained 5th- to 6th-century pottery. N. Cooper (pers. comm.) prefers to see the mid-Anglo-Saxon period as largely aceramic, with the early Anglo-Saxon pottery production ending before AD 650, as there is no evidence for diagnostic Middle Anglo-Saxon imports from outside the region such as Ipswich and Maxey-type wares. However, the Bonner's Lane structure contained three artefacts of special value for dating this building: a bone comb, originally assigned a 5th- to 6th-century date in the excavation report (Finn 2004:106), was proposed by Vince (2007), to be of c.AD 650 to 700. Ian Riddlar (pers. comm.), in support, notes a bone spindlewhorl found within the structure: the use of bone rather than antler is a noted mid- Anglo-Saxon change occurring around the mid seventh-century. But other problems arise: the comb came from backfilled soil filling the SFB hollow, and this soil may not come from occupation soils directly associated with the building (see Tipper 2004: 102 for a general discussion on this).

Figure 58: View (from west) of Jewry wall, an upstanding wall of the Roman baths. Immediately behind is the late Anglo-Saxon church of St. Nicholas (photo by author)

Altering Settlement Forms: Leicester AD 300 - 600

The above evidence and discussions, enable the following settlement sequence to be proposed for Leicester:

- AD 300-350. Urban continuity
- AD 350-450. Renewed defences, public building reuse, open spaces, more timber housing
- AD 450-650. Dispersed non-urban 'rural'
- AD 650+. Renewed growth

The early part of the 4th century saw little change in the active settlement areas within Leicester. While there was perhaps less maintenance of public buildings, they were still active spaces. The town defences were strengthened, and many major townhouses still persisted, though smaller timber structures were perhaps becoming more common, some encroaching onto the edge of streets. By *c*. AD 350 industrial and commercial activities 'invaded' both public and private buildings. Population levels probably dropped, or there was contraction of settlement with increasing open areas, some used for refuse. By the mid-5th century new types of buildings and material culture signify an Anglo-Saxon presence or influence, and settlement was located mainly in the north-east area; burials gathered outside, continuing Roman traditions. This was, arguably, a low level continuity, although the related archaeology, as seen, is improving. By the 7th century there may have been a possible focus of settlement (or administrative / religious display) close to St. Nicholas church near to the former Roman *forum*. There was further settlement along the road to the south, though poor dating evidence restricts the visibility of the data.

5.3 Lincoln

The old town of Lincoln is positioned on a 60m high hill overlooking a pool in the River Witham to the south. It lies on the major north-south Roman road of Ermine Street, with the Fosse Way just to the south (Figure 47). Lincoln has a fairly remote setting with few minor settlements in the region, the nearest major Roman town being Leicester, which lies 80km south-west along the Fosse Way. Roman *Lindum* was split into the earlier 'Upper City', and later 'Lower City'; sections of the wall circuit are extant.

The Archaeological Resource

Within the Upper City the medieval cathedral and castle dominate, so that all excavations that have taken place are

small-scale. More excavations have occurred in the Lower City, most in the eastern half (Figure 60). Late 19th-century and early 20th-century archaeological recordings were focused on the major Roman structures. In the immediate post-WWII years Ian Richmond set up the Lincoln Archaeological Research Committee (see Baker 1955), which became Lincoln Archaeological Trust (LAT) in 1972 and took on a rescue archaeology role (Jones and Darling 1980: 1). From 1972 to 1987, 67 large sites were excavated. In 1988 LAT was dissolved and a new city unit was formed with core funding from Lincoln City Council. However, from 1987 to 2003 just 10 excavations took place (Jones *et al.* 2003: 5). The town walls are well studied (Jones 1980), but few Roman buildings have

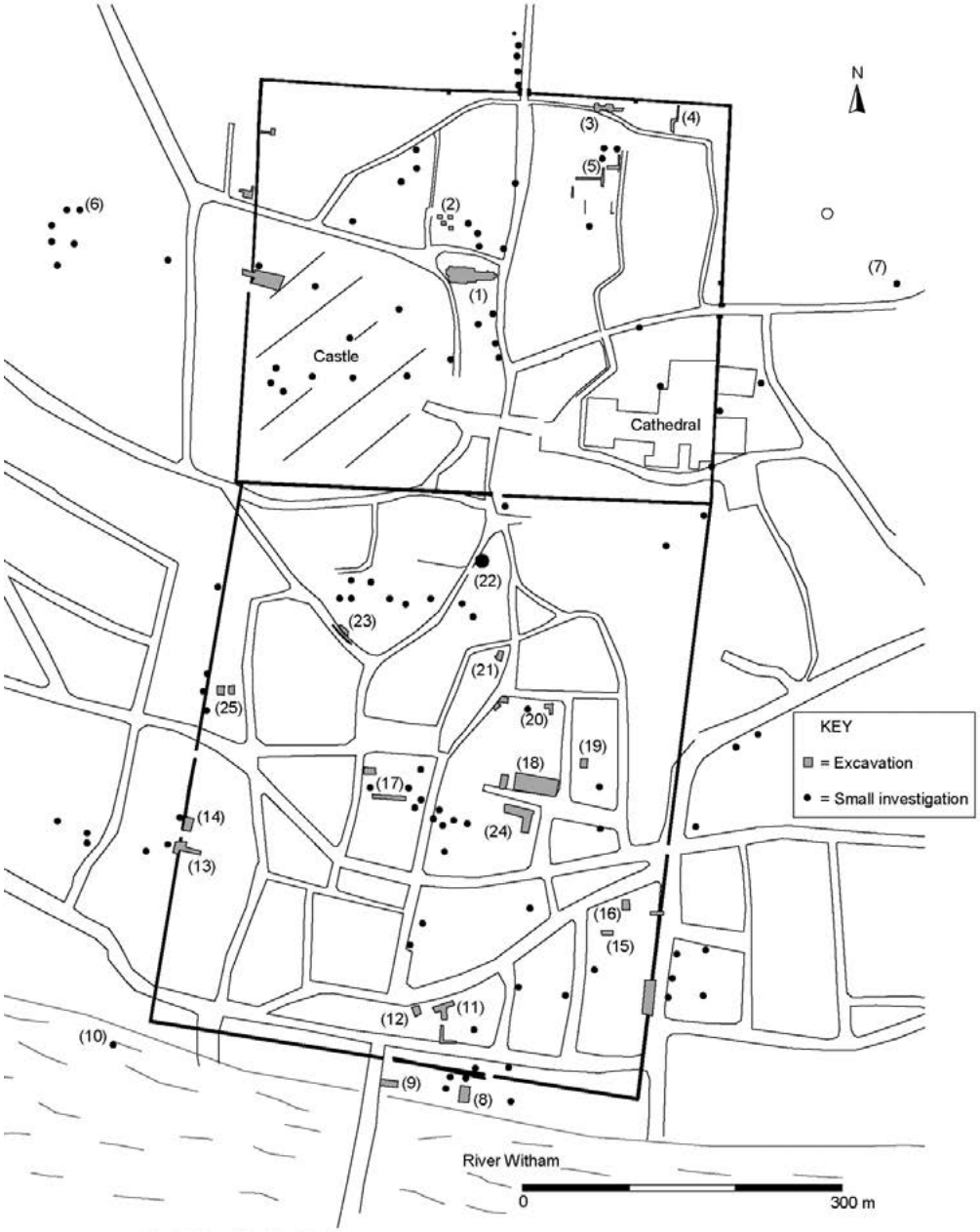


FIGURE 59: EXCAVATIONS WITHIN LINCOLN. SITES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT NUMBERED (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, UPDATED FROM JONES *ET AL.* 2003, FIG.1.1)

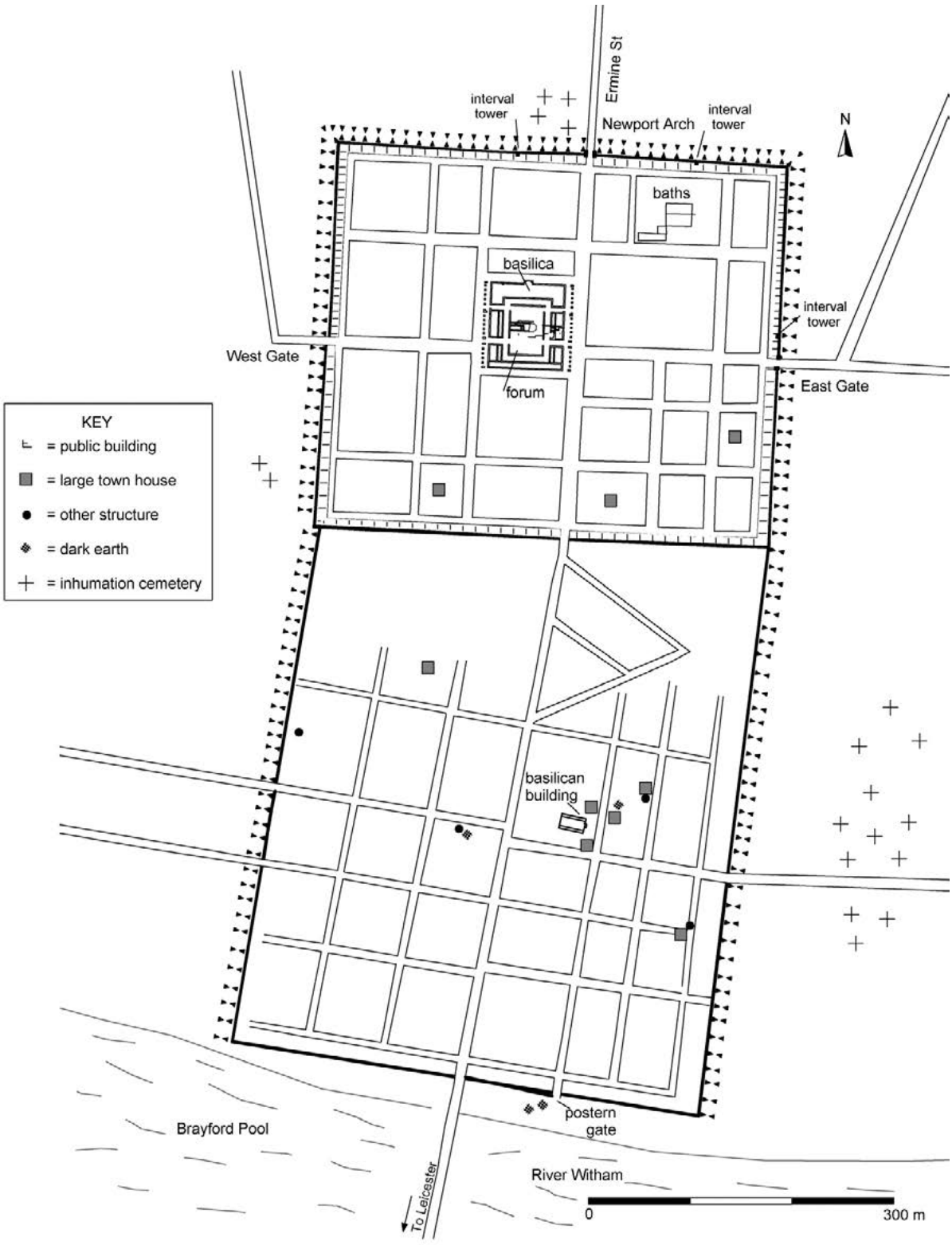


FIGURE 60: 4TH-CENTURY LINCOLN (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, AFTER JONES *ET AL*. 2003: 131)

been excavated. The forum had been partly investigated by antiquarians, but was more fully explored in 1976-83 at St. Paul-in-the-Bail, where evidence for a series of post-forum buildings was discovered, some perhaps relating to a church (Steane and Darling 2006: 129). The principal excavation was at Flaxengate in the Lower City, from 1972-74 (Jones 1980), where important evidence of late Roman structures and dark earth was revealed. The excavations by LAT have (since) been published in a long-running series and represent a valuable and detailed resource; the culmination of this was the establishment of the Urban Archaeological Database, published as The City by the Pool: Assessing the Archaeology of the City of Lincoln (Jones *et al.* 2003). Nonetheless, despite all of these investigations, it is estimated that of the 42ha of intra-mural space only *c.*0.5ha has been investigated (1.2%).

Origins and Development

Only slight evidence exists for Iron Age activity on the hilltop at Lincoln before a legionary fortress was established in the mid-1st century AD (Wacher 1974: 121). This became *Colonia Domitiana Lindensium* in the late 1st century, at which time stone cladding was being added to the existing legionary timber defences; interval towers were added in the 2nd century (Jones and Darling 1980: 5). The forum-basilica was built over the legionary principia (Steane and Darling 2006: 143); the public baths were constructed in the 2nd century (Jones 2003: 80); and further public buildings are partly known west and south of the forum (*ibid*: 65). In the mid-2nd century the Lower City was formally laid out (*ibid*: 82). At the beginning of the 3rd century both the Upper and Lower City underwent some major changes with the rampart bank being enlarged and the wall rebuilt and heightened (Jones and Darling 1980: 6); the forum underwent a major re-design (Jones 2003: 65); and in the Lower City public buildings were constructed along Ermine Street, while large townhouses were set further back (*ibid*: 82).

The 4th Century

At the beginning of the 4th century Lincoln most likely became the provincial capital of *Flavia Caesariensis* or *Britannia Secunda*, and it had a bishop who attended the Council of Arles in AD 314 (Jones 2003: 124); the town was thus an important administrative centre with a strong military position. The archaeological evidence shows that the town defences were substantially modified in the 4th century, and large townhouses continued in use. However, how long this vitality continues is disputed – either as short-lived (Faulkner 1998: 279) or prolonged (Jones 1993; 2002; 2003: 127). Certainly by AD 370 the town was vastly altered in character: some townhouses were demolished, industrial activity was evident, dark earth accumulated, and by the end of the 4th century, a possible church was constructed within the *forum* piazza. The evidence and debates are reviewed below.

Town Defences

From *c.* AD 300-350 both the Upper and Lower City fortifications were substantially refurbished: the ditch was re-dug, and probably the walls were thickened (2.5m to 4m) and heightened (to *c.*7m); the North Gate was also strengthened on both sides. The overall impression is one of a conservative style of maintenance, since there is no evidence for external bastions, and parts of the wall were repaired with spolia (Figure 61). Dating comes in just two places: at East Bight 'late coins' within a robber cut (listed thus in Antiquarian sources), and at Cecil Street a coin of Carausius (AD 286-293) came from a wall core, but is thought to be an unreliable source (Jones 1980: 53). The 2nd-century interval towers were replaced by solid internal platforms, at one of which a single sherd of pottery was found that 'could run into the later 4th century' (Jones and Darling 1980: 96).

Figure 61: The Lower City West Gate at Lincoln, containing spolia reused in the town wall and towers (photo by author).

The Lower City defences were added in the 3rd century, and featured internal towers spaced every 40-50 metres (Jones 2003: 87). This substantial investment demonstrates that Lincoln was of growing importance. Later, at The Park, the wall was thickened and heightened, and the ditch enlarged to become 'saucer-shaped' and 25m wide (and the rampart on the west side was enlarged to a width of 16m). Cutting of the ditch probably disturbed a cemetery as a substantial number of inscribed and moulded stones were made available to be incorporated into the repaired wall (Jones 2003: 87).

Finally, a gate was added to the Lower City around 100m south of the west gate in the mid- to late 4th century. This consisted of a pair of square towers set on either side of a single carriageway; this also contained *spolia* – (Figure 61) many sizeable, perhaps derived from one large funerary monument in particular (Jones 2003: 88).

Public Structures

The *forum* saw various modifications and changes in use in the 4th century. In Room 2A there was (poorly dated) evidence of non-ferrous metalworking followed by abandonment, and then two further phases of reuse. Metalworking also occurred in Rooms 2D and 2E, with pottery of the late 4th century. Rooms 2B and 2C were refurbished with *opus signinum* flooring between the mid-3rd and late 4th century. However, there is evidence for robbing and pitting over most of the rooms, dated by the latest pottery types to the final quarter of the 4th century (Steane and Darling 2006: 144). The public baths are poorly investigated, but appear active to *c.*AD 350 (Jones 2003: 127).

In the Lower City a large basilican structure with an apse was partly excavated. Measuring *c.*60 x 25m (Figure 62), its mortared or tessellated flooring, marble inlays and window glass suggest that it was a quality public structure (Jones 2003: 89). Thomas proposes that it may be a church (1981: 168), whereas Jones (2003: 89) argues for an assembly or audience hall for official purposes (see Section 6.5 for more on this).

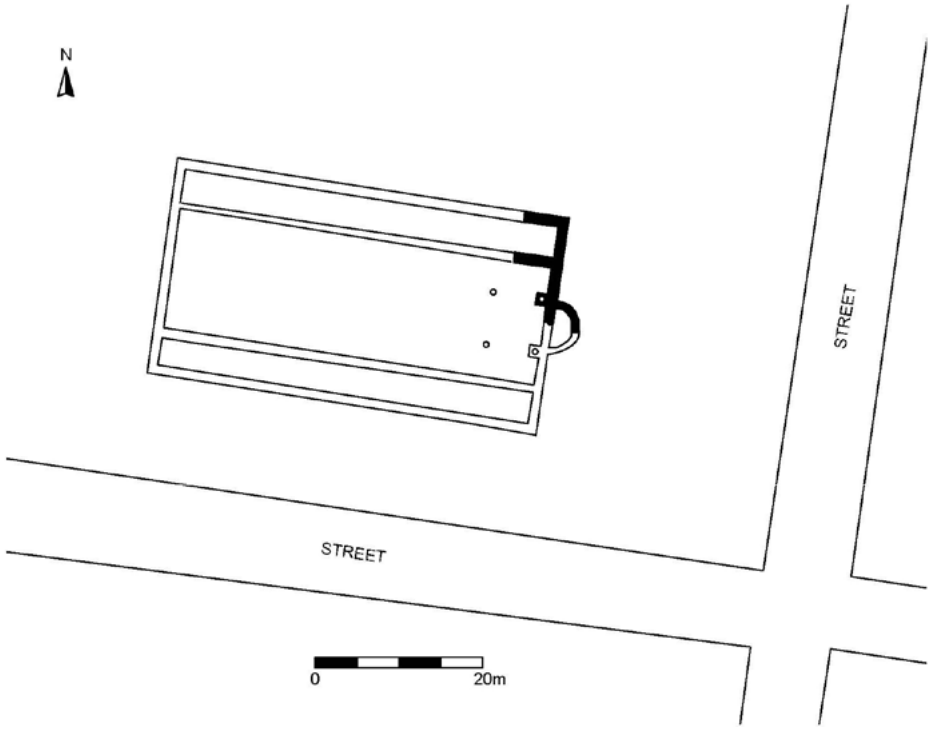


Figure 62: The large basilican building in the Lower City, Lincoln (drawn by author, modified from Jones 2003: 89)

There is evidence to show that the streets were still being maintained (Jones 2003: 127), although at East Bight in the Upper City the enlarged rampart encroached onto the inter-vallum street (*ibid*: 126). Water supply, meanwhile, continued in use late into the 4th century – with wooden water pipes close to Ermine Street found at Hungate (Jones 2003: 92).

Housing

At least three large townhouses of late Roman date are known in the Upper City (Table 19), these only partly investigated. In the Lower City six large hillside houses remained active until at least the 360s or 370s (Jones 2003: 130). The large size and quality of late Roman private housing probably reflect the town's rise to capital status in the 4th century and the presence of government officials. Jones, drawing on Faulkner's study, suggests a greater and more prolonged occupation of townhouses to AD 375, but with a sudden drop and almost complete loss by AD 400 (Jones 2003: 132). Elsewhere in the town, housing may have changed character in the later 4th century with increased timber structures, as perhaps seen at Hungate where a large courtyard building was demolished in c. AD 370. The ground was then deliberately levelled to a depth of over c.1m of building rubble, following which there was a dump of *c*.0.5m of dark earth (with coins of AD 388-402), within which slight evidence was traced of timber buildings (Darling and Vince 1992: 367).

Commercial and industrial activity was centred in extra-mural areas to the south in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, but these appear to downsize from the early 4th century (when the fringes of the suburb were abandoned), though some activity did continue to AD 370 (Jones 2003: 104). Around this time comes evidence for intra-mural industrial activity – including iron working – at West Parade, Flaxengate, and Saltergate (*ibid*: 92), indicating suburban traders moving inside the walls – perhaps for security – and making use of increasingly more open areas in the town.

Soils and Space

Dark earth has been discovered only in the Lower City and suburb of Wigford to the south. Its interpretation in Lincoln is one of dumped deposits (as opposed to ploughed agricultural soil), and is generally dated to between AD 375 and 410 (Jones 2003: 136). At Hungate dark earth is seen as preparation for level ground for timber buildings (Darling and Vince 1992: 367), whereas at Flaxengate there is evidence for butcher's waste and fresh pottery within the soil adjacent to a rectangular structure (Jones 2003: 136). Extensive dumping is evident along the riverside where at Waterside Shopping Centre vast quantities of late 4th-century objects and coins were discovered. A new timber revetment was also added, perhaps indicating rising river levels, or a major remodelling of the port (Jones 2003: 94). Indeed, late Roman Lincoln should not be solely characterised by dark earth, as there is evidence for maintained open garden spaces at four of six excavated townhouses in the Lower City (Flaxengate, Saltergate, Steep Hill, and Spring Hill), some containing evidence for ponds (Jones 2003: 91).

An important analysis of over 1000 coins found within dark earth contexts and elsewhere within the town show that 45% date from AD 330-378, yet with only 2% across AD 388-402 (see Darling and Vince 1992: 366). Does this

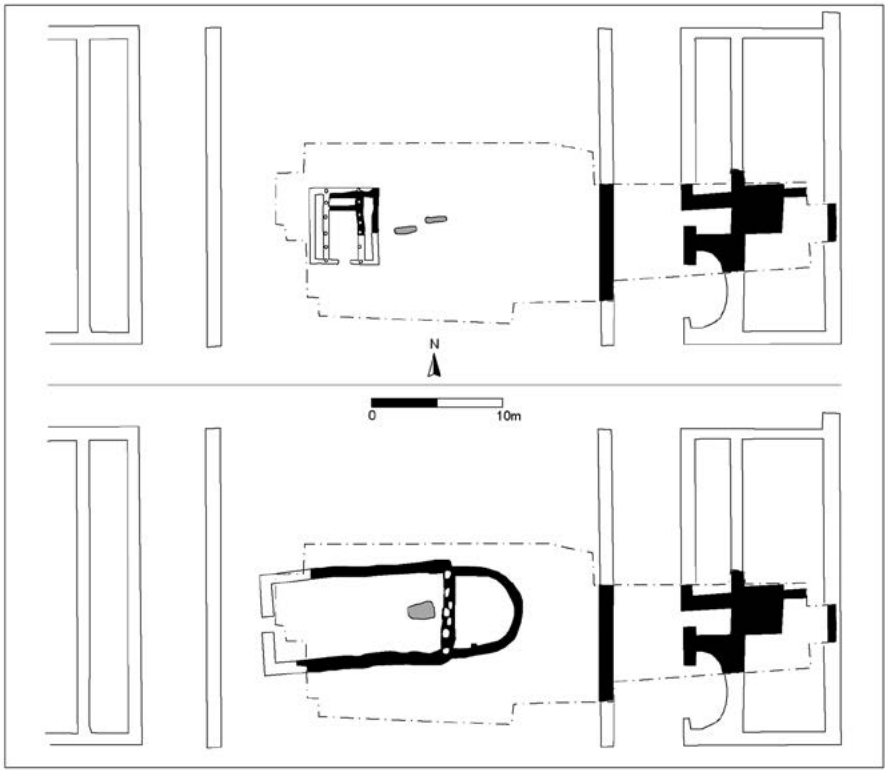


Figure 63: The 4th-century (top) and 7th-century (bottom) churches and associated burials (shaded grey) within the forum piazza at Lincoln (drawn by author, modified from Jones 2003: 128, and Gilmour 2007: 234)

reflect a serious contraction in economy (and settlement) at the very end of the 4th century? Jones, indeed, views dark earth as an indicator of a major change, marking the end of large-scale urban residences, to be replaced by a much smaller-scale population (2003: 136).

Religious Structures and Burials

There are few pagan structures excavated, though many tombs and perhaps temples were destroyed in the mid- to late 4th century for re-use of materials in the town defences, which could show a disregard for pagan beliefs. Late Roman inhumation cemeteries are known along most of the major streets out of the town, though all are poorly investigated (Jones 2003: 114). However, evidence for late Roman Christianity is relatively strong: from AD 314 Lincoln is known to have had a bishop (named as Adelphius) who attended a Church Council at Arles (*ibid*: 124). Intriguingly a timber beam-slot building was found in excavations within the central courtyard of the *forum* (Figure 63), which may possibly represent a small church – a discovery described as 'one of the most exciting discoveries in the city as a whole' (Steane and Darling 2006: 286). The building measured 6 x 6m, and the beam-slots cut into the *forum* surface. It had an north-south axis, and an internal division at the north end. But it is very poorly dated and could fit anywhere from the 4th to 7th centuries. While Jones prefers to view this as a late Roman church (2003: 128), Vince (2003) sets it to the 7th century; yet Gilmour's recent re-assessment argues that the first building might actually have been a small temple or shrine rather than a church (2007: 233). The position of the beam-slot structure within the *forum* is intriguing, being both one of convenience – the open area of the gravelled piazza will have made for stable foundations – and of symbolism – its position in the centre of the Roman town providing a statement of power and control by the emerging Roman Church (if it is a church). Either way it indicates a notable mental re-orientation of the old Roman urban design.

The 5th and 6th Centuries

There are hints that Lincoln persisted into the early 5th century (Table 20), but by this point the population was much reduced (with little economic activity), so that by c. AD 425 'occupation had apparently ceased' (Jones 2003: 82), despite strong defences and still-upstanding large public structures (part of the basilica – the Mint Wall – remains upstanding today). Clear settlement activity from the early 5th century is minimal: we have no evidence for Anglo-Saxon structures such as Sunken-Feature Buildings or post-built structures. The only evidence is limited to low levels of pottery, with just one sherd stratified – found within a disused hypocaust at Saltergate (Young and Vince 2006: 31); all remaining pottery sherds were found residually in later medieval features. Despite the very low number (25 sherds) of early Anglo-Saxon pottery, their location may give some indication for active areas within the town (Figure 65).

Thus, in the Upper City, small clusters of finds lie around the presumed *forum* church and in the north-east area close

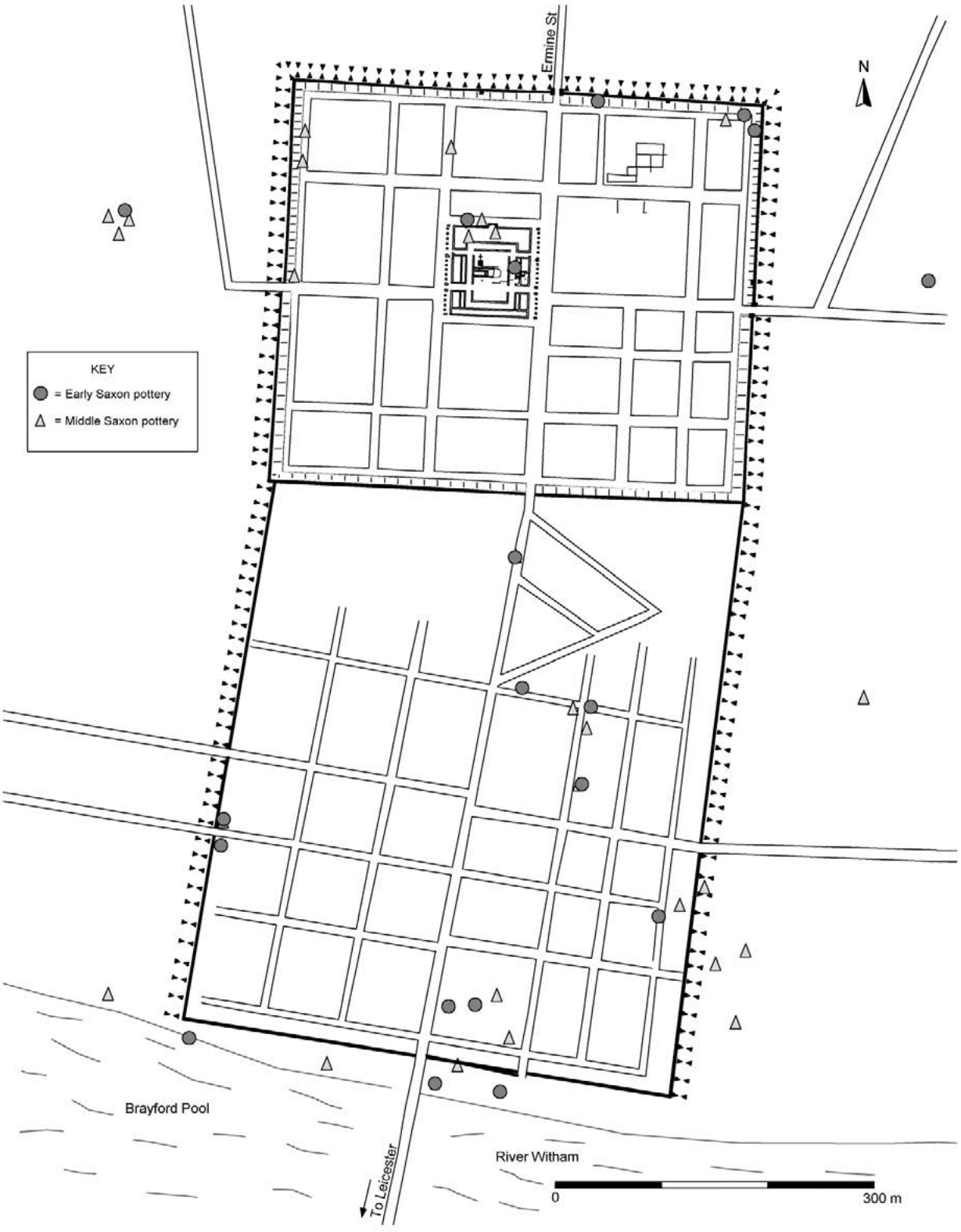


Figure 64: 5th- and 6th-century evidence from Lincoln (drawn by author, after Vince 2003: 146)

to the defences (East Bight). Some finds occur close to major streets in extra-mural areas, Vince views finds outside the West Gate (at Lawn Hospital) as having originally come from intramural contexts – perhaps from soils removed and disposed of outside of the town (2003: 152) – but this seems unlikely. In the Lower City, sherds almost exclusively lie to the east of the main north-south street (there have been excavations in the west area of the Lower City with virtually no Anglo-Saxon material recovered), close to the South Gate and in the Flaxengate area.

But do these few sherds of pottery actually represent intramural settlement, or are they remnants 'scavenging'? Interestingly the pottery vessels were predominantly

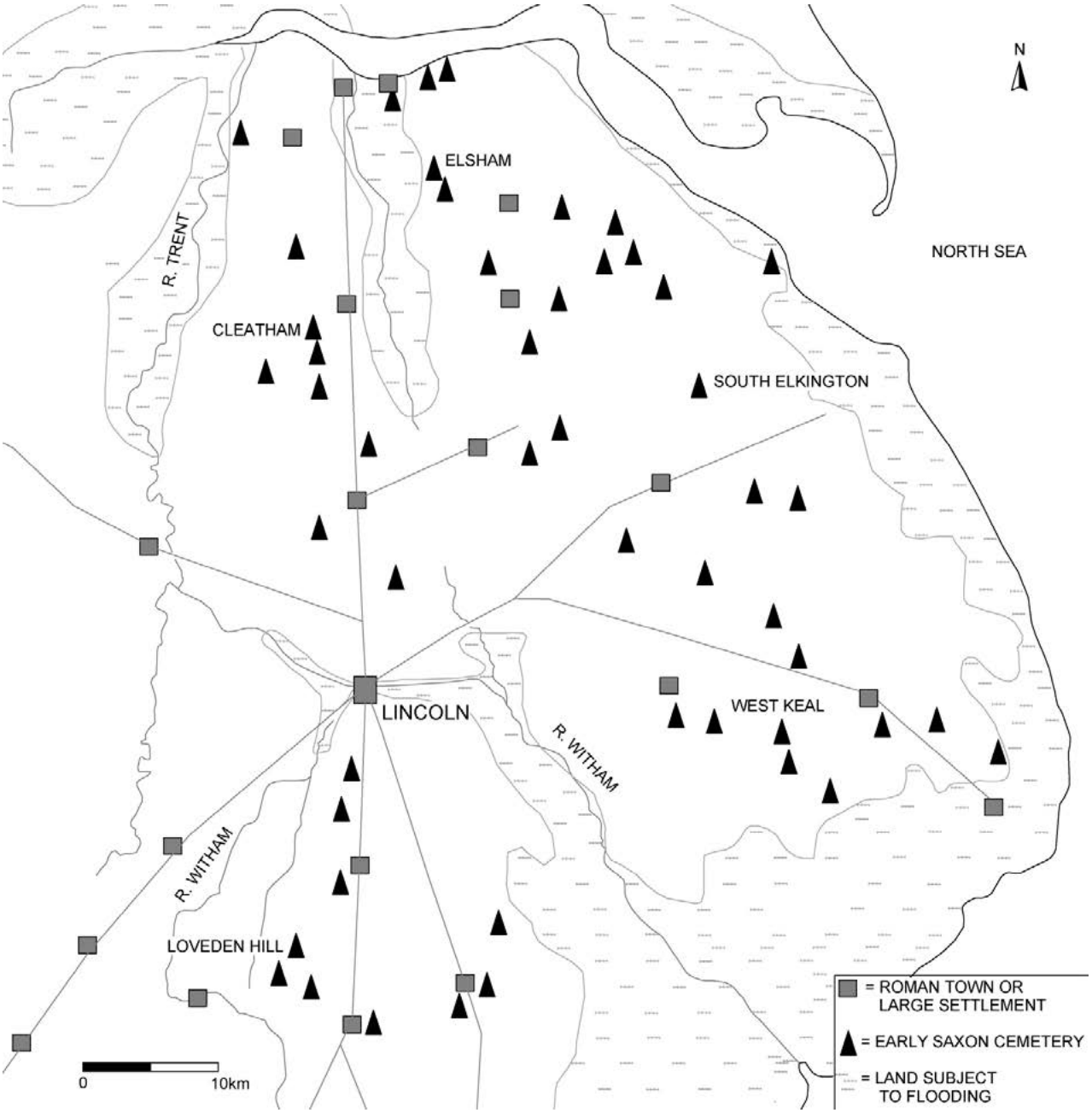


FIGURE 65: 5TH- AND 6TH-CENTURY EVIDENCE IN LINCOLNSHIRE (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, UPDATED FROM VINCE 2003: 142; LEACHY 2007: 11; AND DATA FROM LINCOLNSHIRE HER)

regionally produced, including some from Leicester, such as 'CHARN' vessels, which were tempered with Mountsorrel Granodiorite (from Charnwood Forest north-west of Leicester (Young and Vince 2006: 28). Vince noted that the low-levels of 5th- and 6th-century finds activity emphasise 'that whatever was happening in the city was extremely localised and small-scale' (2003: 143). This is perhaps surprising given how Lincolnshire shows fair evidence for early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (such as Cleatham, Elsham, South Elkington, West Keal, and Loveden Hill – see Leahy 2007: 11 and Figure 65), and some settlements excavated or located in fieldwalking surveys (Vince 2003: 142). Vince proposes that – as at London and York – settlement at Lincoln may have shifted to an extra-mural trading centre somewhere along the River Witham (*ibid*: 143). The edges of the River Witham were areas subject to flooding, and the notable absence of 5th- to 7th-century finds at Wigford (the suburb south of the Roman town) suggests this area was not occupied; a possible causeway to the river further east at Stamp End (*ibid*: 144) could be a better candidate for a small river-side trading centre. More recent excavations have begun to hint at a potential mid-Anglo-Saxon settlement (or trading area), close to the river, and crucially away from the old Roman town. In 2009 work close to the bus station found an SFB and pottery of 7th- and 8th-century date, and again in 2010 work to the west of Melville Street located further 7th - 8th-pottery (City of Lincoln Council 2012).

Another hint of Romano-British longevity is the British form of the name *Lindocolinae* provided by Bede (II: xvi). An alternative view came from Myres in 1937 when he noted an absence of any early Anglo-Saxon settlements within the city's immediate environs, arguing that this indicated a residual British population maintaining Lincoln as a separate enclave against the new incoming populations (1937: 414). This view is still maintained by regional specialists (Leachy 2007: 11). Lincoln's importance in the 5th and 6th century is strongly advanced in new research by Green (2011, 2012), who primarily uses cemetery data and later historical sources within Lincoln and Lincolnshire to argue that 'a Lincoln-based British polity (named **Lindēs*) managed to survive and even prosper as late as the 6th century...before being taken over almost intact by the Anglo-Saxons to form the kingdom of *Lindissi'* (Green 2011: 243; 2012). Indeed a recent review *of early* Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the region (Figure 65) continues to show that there are no early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries close to Lincoln, with most focused elsewhere close to smaller former Roman settlements, or near the main streets or rivers in the region.

The Early 7th Century

By the early 7th century Lincoln was elevated as capital of the kingdom of Lindsey (land set between the Humber and the Wash – broadly Lincolnshire). Bede records a visit to Lincoln from Bishop Paulinus in AD 628 (Bede ii.XIII) when Lincoln is described as a town, although Bede notes how the stone church was, by his time (the early 8th century), in ruins:

> *In qua uidelicet ciuitate et ecclesiam operis egregii de lapide fecit; cuius tecto uel longa incuria, uel hostili manu deiecto, parietes hactenus stare uidentur*
> (In this city he built a stone church of remarkable workmanship; its roof has now fallen either through long neglect or by the hand of the enemy)
>
> Bede II: xvi

He also records that the area was ruled by a '*praefectus Lindocolinae civitatis'* (II: xvi). The most likely candidate for Bede's church is at St. Paul-in-the-Bail. Here, overlying the possible 4th-century church (discussed above) is a larger apsidal building that probably dates to the early 7th century (Figure 63). Two older burials were found re-interred within a trench dividing the apse from the rest of the building (one radiocarbon dated to AD 250-650, the other to 370 BC to AD 220). A centrally-placed cist burial containing a hanging bowl was probably a later 7th-century addition (Steane and Darling 2006: 211). Was this church effectively core to a new central power base? Also of note are five inhumation burials at Silver Street that may be of mid- Anglo-Saxon date (Vince 2003: 154), and which, together with a finds concentration within this area, point to a possible mid- Anglo-Saxon intramural church or else outside, near to the gate. Certainly the evidence indicates a Christian presence established within Lincoln from at least the 7th century. The reuse of the site of the 4th-century Roman church is notable: perhaps new elites were choosing to draw upon the Roman urban legacy, potentially to bolster their position amongst those choosing to reside within the former *civitas.* By contrast, there is a notable absence of finds from sites in the western half of the Lower City, with (restricted) 7th-century finds only from Flaxengate and Saltergate (close to the waterfront).

Altering Settlement Forms: Lincoln AD 300-600

Based on the above evidence and discussions, the following settlement sequences are proposed for Lincoln:

- AD 300-350. Provincial capital, defences and public buildings repaired and modified
- AD 350-450. Further defensive modifications, public building reuse, contraction
- AD 450-600. Urban failure, settlement shift?
- AD 600+. Uncertain, emerging church centre?

In the early 4th century Lincoln prospers and grows after being promoted to provincial capital. Most intra-mural space is actively utilised, some public buildings were re-modelled and enhanced (a series of major townhouses are evident), and the town defences were re-fortified. But by *c*.AD 350 increasing industrial and commercial activities within the town suggests contraction of the suburbs, whereas dark earth suggests some intra-mural contraction. Settlement became focused along the main streets, with fewer large townhouses. A possible church was built in the *forum,* indicating a likely Christian population (and bishop). The urban settlement largely failed in the later 4th century, unless with some settlement shift elsewhere. By the early 7th century we can trace a possible return of settlement focus to the Upper City and its *forum* area with a new church over the late Roman church; and some activity is registered in the south-east of the Lower City.

5.4 Wroxeter

Wroxeter lies in Shropshire, at the western end of Watling Street and on the eastern side of the River Severn, within sight of the Welsh mountains. The deserted Roman town now consists of pasture farmland with the small Wroxeter village in the south, the excavated remains and museum in the centre, all framed within the surviving earthwork defences. The archaeological evidence revealed here is arguably the most impressive for 5th- and 6th-century urban occupation in Britain. It demonstrates continued life within the town through into the 7th century, though on a much altered scale and of a much changed character than what had gone before.

The Archaeological Resource

Excavations have occurred at Wroxeter since the mid-19th century; many scholars were drawn to the site by the 'Old Work' – an upstanding fragment of the Roman baths

building – and investigations have long focused on *insulae* around this area (Figure 66). The early investigations proved to be a popular Victorian tourist attraction (Urban 1859) – even attracting Charles Darwin who famously observed the role of earthworms in soil formation over buried remains (White and Barker 1998: 23). Early 20th-century excavations focused on chasing masonry structures (Bushe-Fox 1913), often failing to recognise timber structural phases (*ibid*: 24). The *forum* was investigated in the 1920s (Atkinson 1942), but in rushed fashion (White and Barker 1998: 24). In the 1930s work continued on the baths area, with a series of narrow trenches excavated (Kenyon 1937). Webster's excavations of the 1950s were methodologically more advanced, using the Wheeler box-grid style of excavation (Webster 2002). In the 1960s Barker extended work to the *palaestra* and *macellum* (Ellis 2000: 10). Since the 1970s the land has ceased to be farmed and is now protected by the National Trust and English Heritage. A few small-scale investigations have taken place since, focusing on the town defences, parts of the *forum* (http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=69890), and on a large building to the south of the baths (Colls and White 2013). The Wroxeter Hinterland Project was a major landscape study project undertaken in the mid-1990s and published in two volumes (Gaffney *et al.* 2007 and White *et al.* 2013), which aimed to place the town in its regional context and to assess the nature of urbanism and Romanization in general theoretical terms. Its greatest asset was a geophysical survey of the entire intra-mural area that has produced a remarkably detailed plan (see Gaffney *et al.* 2007: Fig.1.1b), and its detailed discussion of possible activity areas in volume 2 (White *et al.* 2013: 157-198). Despite all this work, only 1% of the intra-mural area of Wroxeter has been excavated, with the focus entirely on the three *insulae* in the civic centre. This is a notable bias, yet the 5th- and 6th-century activity revealed at the baths-*basilica* is so compelling that Wroxeter offers much to debates on post-Roman town life in Britain.

Origins and Development

Wroxeter was established as a legionary fortress between AD 57-90, situated centrally on the Roman road network, at a ford of the River Severn (Webster 2002: 5). Following this the early civilian settlement (from AD 90-150) seems focused within the fortress area (*ibid*: 8). Defences were added in the mid-2nd century, enclosing a huge area of 78ha (the fourth largest in Roman Britain). These defences consisted of a bank and ditch with a wooden palisade (Webster 1962: 50). Geophysical survey indicates a vast town, with the newly-built defences seemingly including areas that would normally have remained as extra-mural – industrial zones and 'market gardens' to the north of Bell Brook. The public buildings of the forum, baths, and a temple also belong to the 2nd century. A range of housing

Figure 66: A view of the 'Old Work', the Roman baths building at Wroxeter (photo by author)

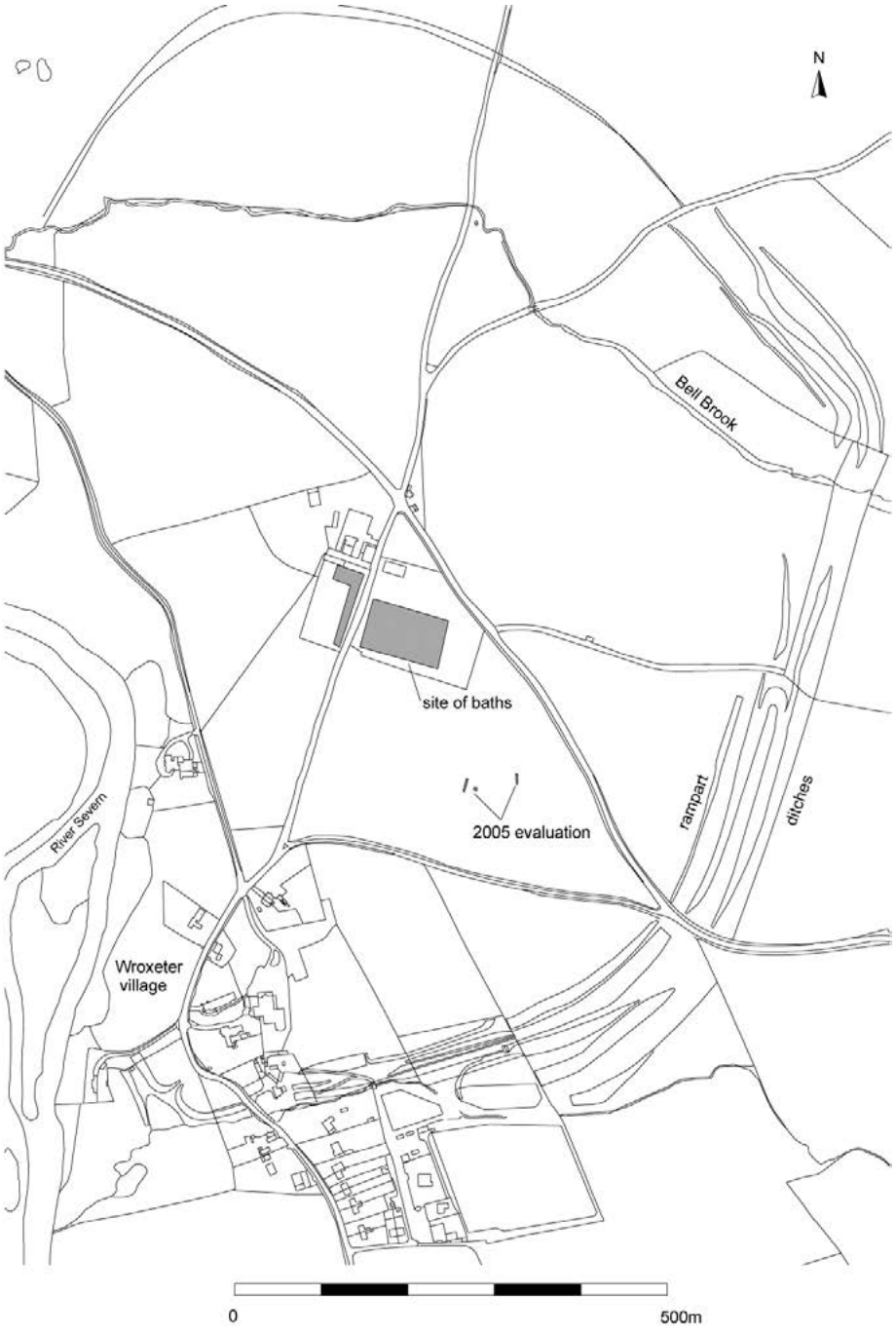


Figure 67: Modern Wroxeter and location of key excavations (drawn by author)

types from simple strip housing to elaborate townhouses were recognised in the geophysical survey and these should also belong to the early town (White and Barker 1998: 83).

The 4th Century

In the 4th century Wroxeter's status was likely upgraded from tribal capital to chartered city (*municipium*), changing its name from *Viroconium Cornoviorum* to *Uriconium* (White and Barker 1998: 103). This demonstrates an increased administrative importance to the town, reflected also in its role as a tax collection point for the annona.

Town Defences

The mid-2nd-century town ditches (running for 3.5 km) were modified in the 4th century to a single – and wider – cut, and the rampart was heightened (White and Barker 1998: 104), (see Figure 69). Unusually there is no evidence for stone defences or external bastions, which White and Barker see as indicating that the changes made were purely for prestige, rather than defensive purposes (*ibid*: 104). The changes will have made the town defensively stronger, and there is some limited evidence for a late Roman military presence within the town – several weapons and crossbow brooches have been found (*ibid*: 104). The 1st-century fort

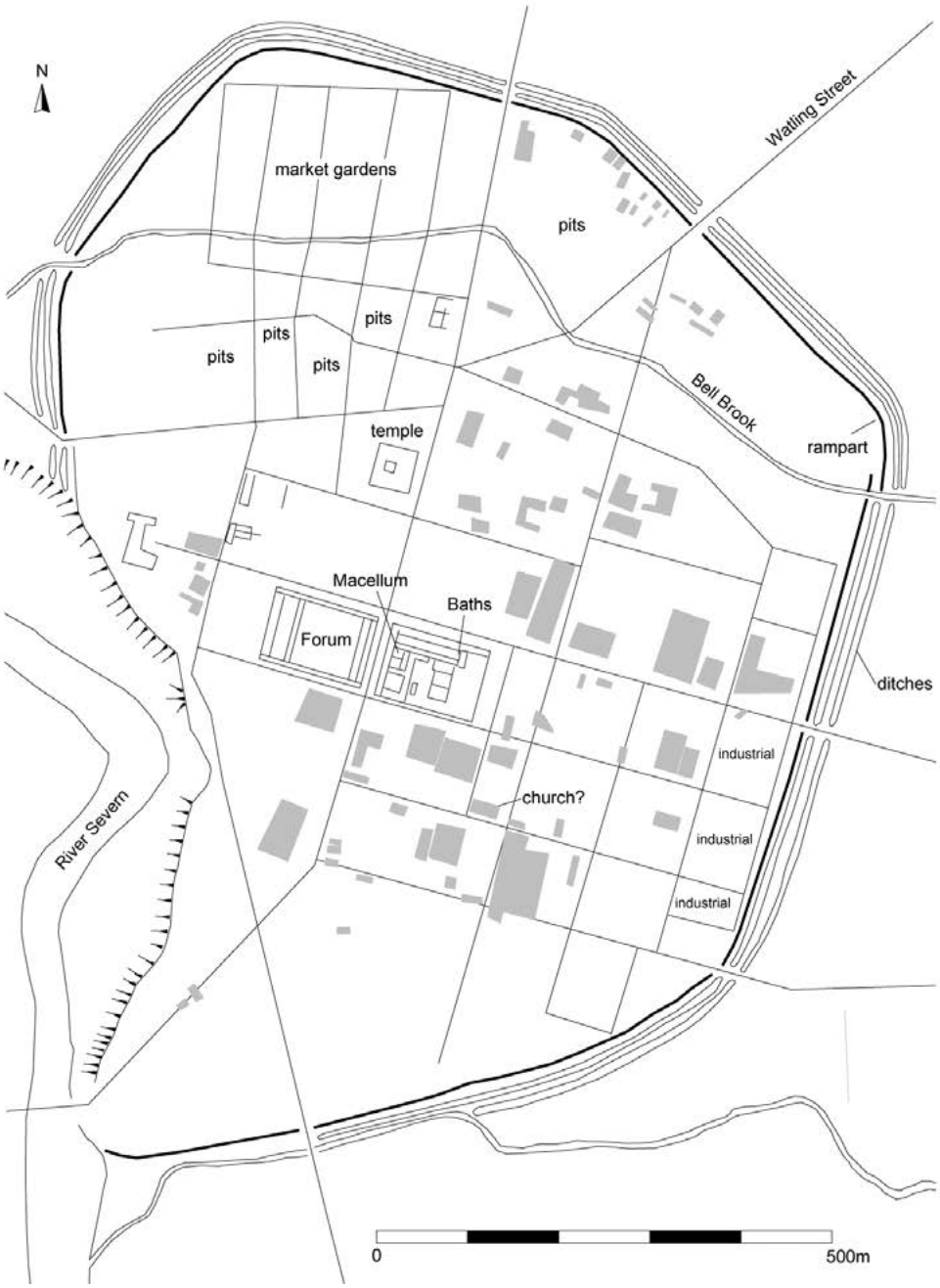


FIGURE 68: LATE ROMAN TOWN OF WROXETER, SHOWING KEY STRUCTURES, UNDATED MASONRY STRUCTURES FROM GEOPHYSICAL SURVEYS (SHADED), AND POSSIBLE ACTIVITY ZONES (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, UPDATED FROM BARKER AND WHITE 1998: 77 AND GAFFNEY *ET AL*. 2000: 84)

ditch – that ran parallel and to the south of Bell Brook – was refurbished, and Kenyon (1937) dated this event to the 4th century, though White and Barker prefer to place this in the 5th or 6th century, citing these centuries as 'more troubled times' (*ibid*: 127).

Public Structures

The huge *forum* suffered a major fire in the later 2nd century, and again in the late 3rd century, prompting its abandonment, although it was 'likely that the row of shops on the west front and the *forum* courtyard continued in use' (Atkinson 1942: 108 -13; White and Barker 1998: 87). The public baths were still in use after AD 367 (dated by coins) when parts of the floor were repaired with patching. However, the condition of the baths had declined, since some areas had been dismantled and fewer rooms were in use (*ibid:* 113). Perhaps this 'downsizing' allowed the baths to become more efficient to run; yet it may hint at a reduced demand – and population – in the late 4th century.

Housing

The private buildings of Wroxeter are virtually unknown (Table 27), despite the geophysics data, save for a couple of 19th- and early 20th-century excavations which showed that some townhouses were refurbished with (new) mosaics in the later 4th century (White and Barker

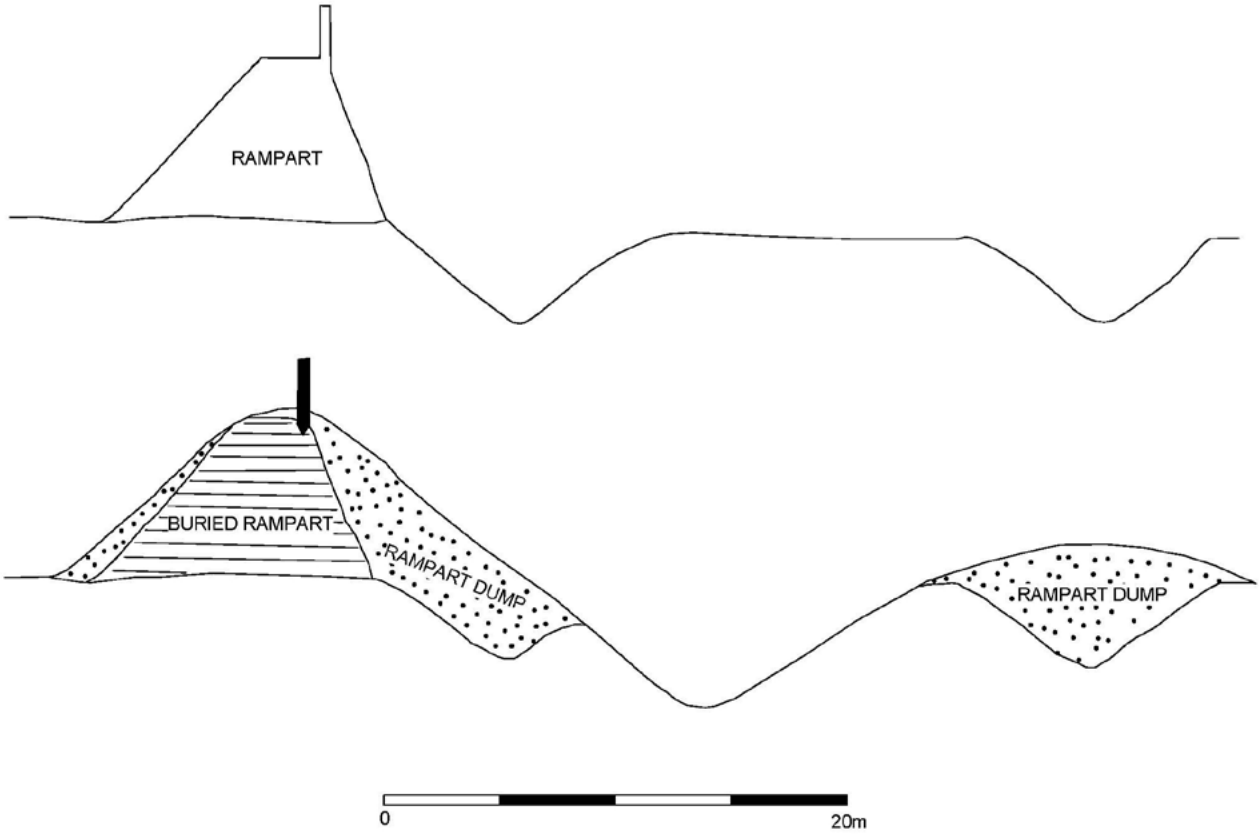


FIGURE 69: CHANGES TO WROXETER'S TOWN DEFENCES – EARLY PHASE (TOP) AND 4TH-CENTURY PHASE (BOTTOM) (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, AFTER WHITE AND BARKER 1998: 99)

1998: 109) – dates based on stylistic grounds. The fire in the *forum* in the late 3rd century is thought to have also destroyed private housing to the south that was not rebuilt (*ibid: 112*).

Religious Structures and Burials

Evidence for religious structures is poor. A pagan temple (just to the north of the *forum*) has been partially investigated, and its latest activity sequence indicates redundancy at some point in the 4th century when it was despoiled (White and Barker 1998: 104). There is virtually no evidence for Christianity from burials or artefacts bar a single coin (of AD 327) decorated with a chi-rho monogram (*ibid*: 106). An apsidal building detected by geophysics, lies to the south of the baths, measuring 30 x 13m and east-west oriented. It overlies earlier structures and is set back from the street, though it occupies a prominent position, located not far from the public baths. Its function is disputed, originally seen as a church (Buteux *et al.* 2000: 78), the building has since been evaluated with two trenches and more detailed geophysical surveying. The investigation showing that it does not have an apse and therefore unlikely to be a church (Colls and White 2013: 87). Perhaps it had a secular use, such as a meeting hall (*schola*), see also Section 6.5. The building appears to have been reused for rubbish disposal in the late 4th century or later (*ibid*: 87).

The 5th and 6th Centuries

The meticulous recording over a large open-area excavation of the baths-*basilica* conducted by Philip Barker in the 1970s revealed what has been interpreted as an extensive range of settlement evidence throughout the 5th and 6th centuries consisting of over 30 timber structures – including a large two-storey building – many built to 'Roman' measurements and style (Barker *et al*. 1997). The evidence points to a fairly sizeable population living within the town's central urban core. The settlement is seen as a substantial and bold reworking of the redundant Roman structures, presumably under the leadership of a secular or religious person (White and Barker 1998: 121).

After the baths had went out of use in the early 5th century, the *basilica* had three small timber buildings built in the east end, along with evidence for a hearth and bread oven. C14 samples date this activity to AD 410 – 650 and AD 500 – 550 (Barker *et al*. 1997: 228). From around AD 500 the basilica was demolished and the area was used as a market; a C14 date from a charcoal dump dates this to AD 390 – 660, though it has to be later than AD 500 because of an earlier bread oven date (*ibid*: 229). Around AD 550 the entire area was redeveloped, and at least 36 timber structures were built – an event termed by the excavators as 'The Great Rebuilding' (Figure 70). The largest building (Building 10) was a massive two-storey structure, measuring 38.5 x 16m

(Figure 72). Constructed on a rubble platform with sill beams, it perhaps had a towered façade (*ibid*: 232). Within the former basilica were numerous smaller structures – probably part of the Building 10 complex. The building dominated the small timber buildings surrounding it, which ranged from small booths or shacks along the street front (a market?), to well-constructed timber structures. Potentially the frigidarium was in use as a church during this period, though there is little strong evidence to support this theory: the surviving upstanding wall was east-west oriented, it had a vaulted roof, and 12 burials have been found buried within the hypocausts. Another possibility is that the building became a granary (*ibid*: 236). All of the buildings were constructed without mortar, using recycled Roman building materials, often on rubble platforms, leaving little archaeological trace. In poorer conditions (i.e. in active modern towns and cities) such survival of the evidence would be very unlikely.

The above interpretations are, however, much disputed and even the data are criticised (e.g. Ward-Perkins 1996 rejects it). At the (negative) extreme Reece views Wroxeter as little more than a 'small administrative village', in no way a Roman town (1980: 84); and the evidence is virtually ignored by Faulkner in his general study of Roman towns in Britain (1998: 250). Esmonde Cleary (1989: 153) opts for the village view, and further suggests that the inhabitants were farming within the walled area. Ottaway opts for the middle-ground, claiming that Building 10 was inhabited by a 'British chieftain' (1992: 117). Mattingly notes that the evidence shows 'an individual remodelling of the area around a timber hall' (2006: 338), but fails to offer a wider interpretation of the town during this period. I prefer the views of Barker *et al*. (1997), Dark (2000: 136) and White who all emphasise that the evidence does reflect 'urban' rather than village life; '...the site...must be seen for what it was: an urban settlement' (2000: 112). White highlights how differing levels of society and an active market can be seen – ranging from the secular or ecclesiastical owner of Building 10 to the artisans and traders in much smaller buildings along the street front (*ibid*: 247, see Figure 91). This evidence is not unique in Britain, since at Silchester the combination of a fortunate survival of archaeological evidence in an abandoned town, combined with a strong excavation methodology revealed a similar 'Sub-Roman' style of urban life (Section 4.4).

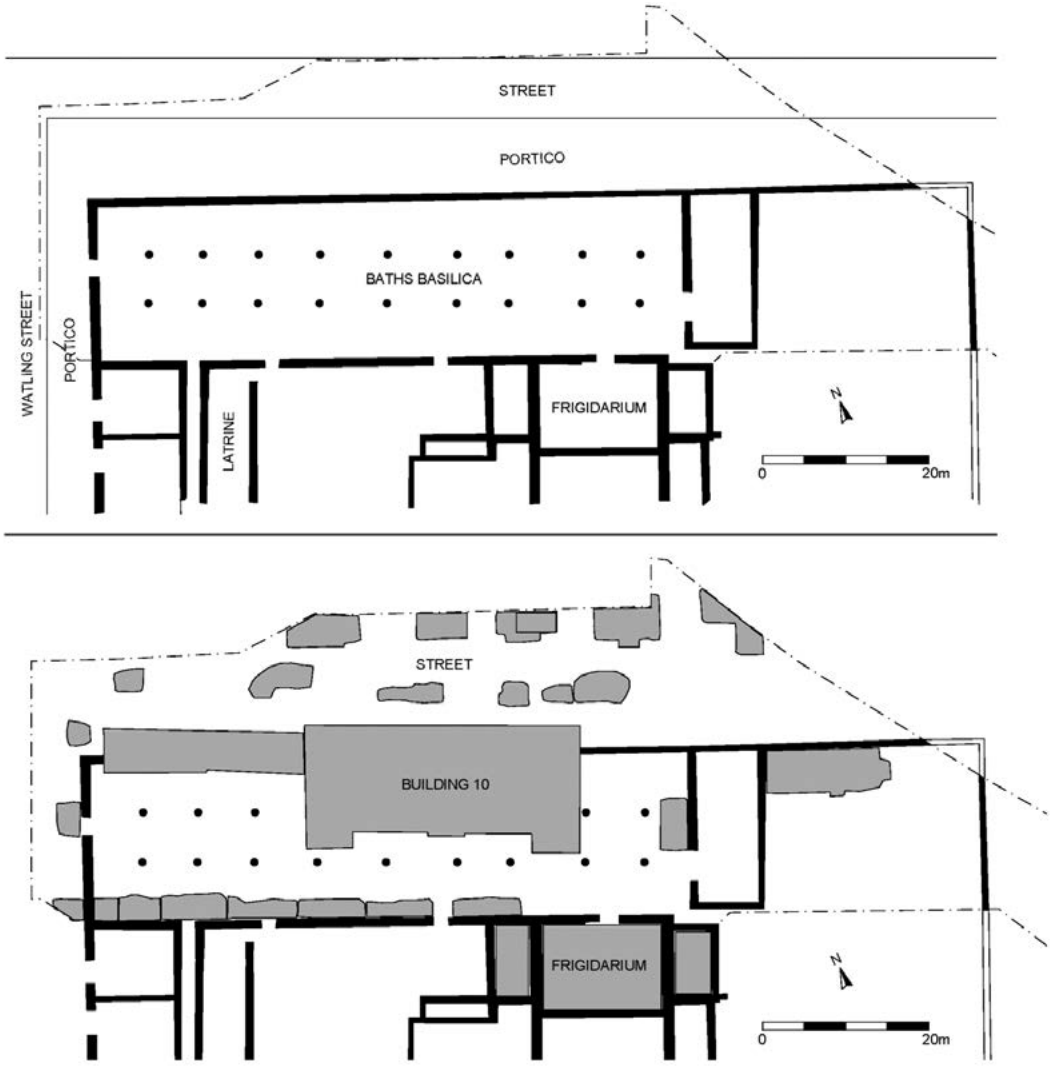


FIGURE 70: THE CHANGE FROM 4TH-CENTURY BATHS-BASILICA TO 5TH- AND 6TH-CENTURY TIMBER HOUSING AT WROXETER. GREY SHADED AREAS DENOTES A TIMBER STRUCTURE (DRAWN BY AUTHOR, MODIFIED FROM BARKER *ET AL*. 1997: 124 AND ELLIS 2000: FIG.2.7)

Figure 71: The rubble platform of Building 10 in the former baths-*basilica*, Wroxeter. The plan of the building is marked out by the ranging poles (image courtesy and copyright of Philip Barker and Roger White)

The Early 7th Century

Building 10 and the other structures are claimed to have lasted for about 75 years. There is no evidence for a dramatic end; rather, the building sequence simply stops. Some buildings were dismantled, and a small building post-dates Building 10. A *terminus ante quem* for the abandonment and demolition of Building 10 (and possibly the settlement of the town) is provided by a burial cut into a rubble platform of a building; whose C14 date is AD 620-740 or 600-790 (Barker *et al*. 1997: 238). There are no medieval finds, implying this area of the town was completely abandoned in favour of the present-day village in the far south-west area. An undated ditch cut off this area from the remaining part of the town and define the northern limits of a small nucleated mid-7th century settlement (White and Barker 1998: 139). The village in fact fits broadly into the topography of the Roman street grid, at the junction of two major roads. The church of St. Andrew's may have 7th-century origins, and is also aligned to the Roman street grid. It is uncertain why the settlement shrank so massively in size and location. The town may have lain in a peripheral location between larger political zones – the Welsh kingdoms to the west and Mercia to the east – and so was marginalised in importance as a sub-Roman political centre; it lost out fully with the emergence of Shrewsbury in the late 8th century (Barker *et al*. 1997: 244).

Altering Settlement Forms: Wroxeter AD 300 - 600

Based on the above evidence and discussions, the following settlement sequences are proposed for Wroxeter:

- AD 300-350. Urban continuity
- AD 350-400. Reduced public services, timber housing
- AD 400-600. Reduced urban settlement and redevelopment of core
- AD 600+. Settlement failure

In the early 4th century Wroxeter shows a mixed picture with some public structures like the *forum* becoming disused and the baths being reduced in size, whereas some private housing was renovated with new mosaics. The archaeological evidence thus indicates a continued but possibly reduced 'urban' population. Around AD 350 the settlement was characterised by more timber structures, and further intra-mural contraction perhaps focused life onto the old civic centre. Throughout the 5th and 6th centuries there is continued reduced 'urban' life, but major redevelopment in the core of the town was dominated by a large timber building, mixed with small-scale housing, workshops and market traders. This may be evidence for a sub-Roman chiefdom, although this fails by the beginning of the 7th century, leaving a residual presence in the south corner, in the area of the present village.

5.5 Summary

In summary, the Midlands case study towns conform in showing how, towards the end of the 3rd century, all consisted still of fairly comfortable Roman urban centres, if with some changes underway: one of partial urban reduction (Wroxeter), another of stability (Leicester), and the other with urban growth (Lincoln). All the town defences were modified during this period, and some public services and large townhouses are evident.

By *c*. AD 350 clear signs of urban contraction are evident, notably of the suburbs. Some public buildings lose their primary roles and are adapted for industrial activities, and there are more open spaces often used for wasteland. Despite this the town defences appear maintained and improved, implying protected inhabitants and space for rural refugees if needed.

The first half of the 5th century sees urban failure at both Leicester and Lincoln, while Wroxeter shows continued – if reduced and materially different – town life. For AD 450-600 images are quite diverse: Wroxeter shows Roman-style activity; at Leicester new data point to non-urban 'rural' nucleated settlement; and at Lincoln settlement was very patchy, and most likely the population focus shifted along the river. Yet by c.AD 600-650 Wroxeter is the site that fails fully, whereas both Leicester and Lincoln begin show a revival and nucleated activity, possibly focused around a core church. The case studies also show a variety of archaeological depths and qualities, but also the potential of future open and rescue excavations in each.

Chapter 6:

Questioning Towns in Late Roman Britain: Forms, Functions, and Failings

6.1 Introduction

All studies on late Roman Britain have been influenced by the notion of a decline of urbanism in the 4th century and an expected loss of Classical Roman form (see Haverfield 1912; Reece 1980; Faulkner 2004; Ward-Perkins 2005). But most recent scholarship views this 'decline' label as '...socially constructed and value laden' (Rogers 2011: 6). What should we use instead? Mattingly notes that some prefer the more neutral term 'change', but he rightly stresses that change is always occurring, if at certain times coming quicker and more decisively (Mattingly 2010: 53). This chapter deliberately avoids the term 'decline' in its title, opting to question the archaeologies of urban forms, functions, and failings on their own merits, without imposing pre-existing ideologies. Crucially this part of the book updates earlier studies (notably Esmonde Cleary 1989) with more recent archaeological insights and discoveries. It is written from a far more material approach – unlike Faulkner (2004), who writes with preconceived dispassionate views, or Rogers (2011) who is more theory-based.

Here, the primary issue is to review urban roots, growth, and roles in Roman Britain, and to interpret what we see as archaeologically defining late Romano-British urbanism. This chapter then places the results of the in-depth case study analyses (Chapters 3, 4, and 5) into the wider context of evolving late Roman society in Britain.

As seen, the appearance of towns changed massively in the 4th century, as the most iconic buildings (the public structures) were often reused or downsized, while the town defences enclosing them were remodelled and sometimes enlarged. Both show a continued investment in – and therefore perceived importance of – towns, even if their physical components were being altered, notably with a reduced settlement with contrasting elements of industry mixed with increasing open space. But this emergent archaeology raises vital questions: who was in control of these towns? Did they remain state controlled, or can we see both a military and/or Church presence? Who was living in these towns and how does this profile compare to smaller towns and rural settlements? In terms of supplying towns with goods and other services, how far attached or detached were they from the landscape? The chapter concludes with a view beyond Britain, comparing broadly our sequence with urban change in other North-Western provinces, and briefly placing Britain within the wider historical context of events in the late Roman Empire.

6.2 Defining Late Romano-British Urbanism

First, however, it is useful to review Roman urban roots and question take-up and depth.

Roman Urbanism

Towns and cities of the Roman world varied greatly in their origins and importance, y*et al*l contained a consistent and thus familiar likeness in their layout and amenities provided. They represented a remarkable consistency that stretched right across the Empire. Rome considered cities essential for the administration and existence of its Empire and its well-being, and it borrowed from practice and experiences of the eastern Mediterranean in particular where cities had a much older pedigree: the *urbes* were the '…only acceptable location for civilized human society' (Drinkwater 1987: 353). The creation of urban colonies was thus key for newly annexed areas of the Empire that they considered to be backward – such as Iron Age Britain. Indeed urbanisation could be viewed as the 'post-military arm' of Roman conquest (*ibid*: 355). The city controlled a regional area (*civitas*) and maintained overall administration and tax collection. Within each town local elites sought to (and were encouraged to) improve their own standing by financing public buildings and monuments (euergetism), these acts helping to promote their town. The presence of the military stimulated urbanism via trade in the frontier provinces, as in the establishment of Cologne and Trier (King 1990: 60). In Gaul as in Britain towns grew up on major roads, developing from military forts (*ibid*: 65), whose plans offered a physical template for growth. Usually there was a pre-existing (Iron Age) population with their own regional and cultural identities which influenced the location of each new regional 'capital' or central place. Western urbanisation quickened in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, though it was not uniform. In the early part of the 1st century southern Spain, south Gaul, and Africa Proconsularis prospered. By the later 1st century northern Spain, northern Gaul, southern Britain, the German frontier, and other African provinces had become increasingly urbanised. The growth of Roman towns reached their peak in c. AD 200 – matching, on a wider level, Rome's economic peak in the Mediterranean (cf. Parker 1992).

The basic building blocks of a colony and town were the same across the Empire, although there were distinct regional variations (e.g. differing *fora,* discussed in Drinkwater 1987: 353-355). While it is possible to describe the towns though a checklist of features, we should not expect a 'Rome specification' in plan and contents. Various factors, topographic, historical, economic, and political, combined to make each settlement have unique subtle differences.

Table 3: Key characteristics of Romano-British towns from the 1st to 5th centuries AD

	1st to 3rd century	Early 4th century	Later 4th – early 5th century
Town defences	earthworks generally replaced by stone circuit	repairs and additional modifications	external bastions
Public structures	*fora* and *basilica*s, baths, temples, theatres and amphitheatres active	changing use, downsizing, or disuse	continued reuse of older public structures, further disuse
Private housing	large, medium, to small housing (mix of masonry and timber)	fewer masonry more timber, some large, becoming mainly medium to small	mainly medium to small timber housing
Streets and water supply	maintained	maintained	some maintenance but encroachment of buildings
Religion	pagan temples	Christian burials and some urban churches and pagan temples	Christian burials and urban churches
Open Space	limited to fringes	some waste land and rubbish in fringes	significant waste land and rubbish in centre and fringes

Late Romano-British Urbanism

The later 3rd century saw dramatic political, social, and economic changes that led to changing urban needs and forms. There were external (barbarian) threats to the Empire mainly from AD 250-275, then AD 340s onwards, and regular civil wars. Major administrative reforms under Diocletian led to increased official posts and economic changes with heavy taxation. Under Constantine, the Diocese of Britain was established, and the Church was reorganised in AD 313. These factors combined to create a 'post-classical urbanism', though this change was not instant and many towns certainly maintained far more than simply administrative functions (Reece 1980). A dominant physical element became the city walls, sometimes enclosing a reduced settlement with industrial and commercial structures. The transition was gradual as not many towns gained new works, but the mid-4th century Romano-British town was distinctly different in form and character to that of its 1st- to 3rd-century past. Table 3 highlights the key progressions and physical changes:

In sum, for the earlier 4th century most towns show urban vitality, elites continued to live in large houses, and key public services were maintained. Contrasting with this image of stability are the significant modifications to town defences, often at a cost to suburban zones. The populations appear to be very adaptable – perhaps they had no choice – but certainly there was some spatial reduction (in some towns), and a loss of some (less important?) public services. In truth, there are no clear regional differences in the first half of the 4th century, with all towns showing these same traits.

In contrast, the second half of the century sees most towns undergoing contraction and featuring massively altering townscapes. Population reduction and structural reuse are the key characteristics, but these occur at different points (see Table 4). An early spatial reduction of settlement occurs at both Colchester and London from AD 325, but most other towns appear to diminish from AD 350. 'Reduction' is seen through demolished or abandoned townhouses, public buildings being downsized or disused,

and an increase in unbuilt (open) space, often used for rubbish disposal. Despite apparent reduced populations there was still significant state investment placed in towns. From c. AD 350 the focus was on maintaining and improving the town defences, whereas some public buildings lost their primary roles and were put to use for both official (and private) activities. There were still some official buildings (such as storage depots), and strong indications of industrial production in core areas. If we did not know of the Church historically, it would be easy to claim no Christian intrusions in this 4th-century block.

Table 4: Periods of settlement reduction and building reuse in case study towns

TOWN	AREA	A D 325+	A D 350+
Colchester	SE	✓	
London	SE	✓	
Canterbury	SE		✓
Cirencester	SW		✓
Silchester	SW		✓
Winchester	SW		✓
Leicester	MID		✓
Lincoln	MID		✓
Wroxeter	MID		✓

6.3 Urban Roles and Authorities: Controls and Taxation

Who controlled these urban centres in the late Empire? Three or four main authorities likely had a claim to urban control and form: the state (and elites), the military, and, with time, the Church. Each are looked at in turn to access the archaeological evidence for their role within towns, and more broadly in late Roman Britain.

The State

In the 4th century towns in Britain remained core to the Roman state. The state needed towns for: law-keeping, tax collection, elite input, ordering regional populations, etc. As a result, towns necessarily retained law courts, walls, councils, tolls, and markets. Archaeologically, state control can be seen with evidence for the maintenance or even extension of town defences, upkeep of some public structures, and the provision of granaries as large masonry aisled buildings.

The administrative reforms by Diocletian at the end of the 3rd century (then developed by Constantine I) saw the establishment of the Diocese of *Britannia* comprising four not two provinces, and four urban capitals: *Maxima Caesariensis* (London), *Britannia Prima* (Cirencester), *Britannia Secunda* (Lincoln), and *Flavia Caesariensis* (York). The boundaries of the new provinces are uncertain (compare the various interpretations in White 2007: 39), but these towns were probably chosen due to their established status or their regional economic dominance (as proposed for Lincoln, see Jones 2003: 124). A fifth province was perhaps added after AD 369 (Frere 1987: 200), but more recent research argues that the province of *Maxima Caesariensis* was simply renamed *Valentia* (Birley 2005: 397).

The splitting up into smaller regions is logical, the major urban centres thus becoming central control-points for the administration of each province. London is recorded in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as the headquarters of the *vicarius Britanniarum* (Frere 1987: 198). London housed a minister known as the *comes sacrarum largitonum*, who oversaw taxes and payments given out to the other diocese provinces, another who controlled the state mills (*ibid*: 200), and the head of the treasury – *praepositus thesaurorum Augustensium* (Not. Dig. Occ. xi, 37). A London mint had been established in the late 3rd century and continued in use until AD 325, until reopened under Magnus Maximus (AD 383-388) for producing gold and silver (Perring 1991: 107). Clearly, then, London's role in the provincial administration was core. A huge aisled building (constructed after AD 350 – see Sankey 1998 and Figure 6), potentially 100m by 50m, could have been the 'administration hub' of the Diocese, housing the Governor's residence, offices for the other newly formed officials, a state granary (*horreum*), and treasury.

Within the provincial capitals, and other major towns, the various officials had compulsory positions in which to supervise the state granaries, collect taxes, and maintain the public services. These likely formed collection points for the state *annona* tax system (grain), so central to the late Empire (Mitchell 2007: 345-6). Storage buildings will have been required, and the newly constructed masonry aisled buildings recognised in a few large towns certainly have the characteristics of agricultural storage buildings (see section 6.5). Towns must always have had central grain stores, rarely recorded, but these became more prominent in the late Roman period. The provincial capitals and *civitas* capitals may not have been the only places which acted as tax collection points, since defended small towns (Brown 1995) could have also taken on this role – such as Watling Street 'burgi' (Gould 1999; Webster 1971) – as could villas, as suggested for Gatcombe villa whose 8ha enclosure with over 20 buildings may have acted as a state-controlled depot (Esmonde Cleary 1989: 39).

In terms of urban defences, within many of the towns discussed in Chapters 3-5 we have seen extensive repairs and remodelling in the late 3rd and into the early 4th century, along with substantial additions in the form of external bastions later. Both maintenance and new works should signify that resources were allocated from the Imperial Government (if only being diverted urban taxes), perhaps in order to reassert its control following the 3rd century crisis, including the Gallic Empire in the AD 260s and 270s.

The older administrative structures of the *forum-basilica* appear to have had much less importance in the running of 4th-century towns. As discussed in section 6.4 the civic core was remodelled and reused, not in some mundane *ad hoc* activities, but rather in an ordered reuse. The activity (often metalworking), was likely to have been state-controlled, and still in a civic space rather than a private enterprise. Rogers points out that rather than showing any sort of decline this reuse actually points to '...the vitality of towns at the time' (2011: 148). State-controlled factories or workshops (*fabricae)* are recorded in the *Notitia*, these in some cases producing either specific military items (James 1988: 260), or for cloth, as recorded at Venta: *procurator gynaecii in Britannis Ventesis (Not. Dig. Occ. xi, 60), this could be either Winchester, Caerwent, or Caistor-by-Norwich (Frere 1987: 291)*. They were probably introduced under Diocletian, and Christie notes that supplies may have came from Gaul to the diocese capital at London for redistribution (2011: 71). This is likely, though it is possible that sufficient supplies were not always getting through. Therefore the well-ordered and sizeable metalworking seen in *basilicae* at towns such as Silchester (Fulford and Timby 2000), Exeter (Bidwell 1979), and at a smaller-scale in seven other towns (Rogers 2011: 130) could represent evidence for small-scale *fabricae*, and certainly point to continued state-controlled urban space. They may also show a link between the town and the army, with the former providing arms and the latter providing the security.

Figure 72: 4th-century Britain with new provinces, capitals indicated (after Mann 1998: 340; White 2007: 37).

The Military

Britain always had a military presence, centred on the more militarised north – but it was also influential in the south. From AD 350, there were successive withdrawals of troops, and replacements in much smaller numbers, plus a number of usurpers proclaimed. Key here is to consider how far military issues in the 4th century impacted on towns and town design.

Army Reforms, Conspiracies, and Usurpers

Military reforms came under Diocletian and Constantine I whereby forces were divided into two main groups: a mobile field unit and frontier armies (Southern 2004: 393). Command was divided between forces of the *Dux Britanniarum* in the north and the *Comes Litoris Saxonici per Britannias* in the south (*ibid*: 394). The *Notitia Dignitatum* indicates a total of *c*.18,000 troops in Britain in the later 4th century – around a third of its size in the 2nd century (Mattingly 2006: 239). The commander's seat in the north may have been York, while the south could have been overseen from London.

A key date is AD 367, for which Ammianus Marcellinus records a *conspiratio barbarica* (Hamilton and Wallace-Hadrill 1986: 27.8). He records that following reduced numbers of troops and low morale, a garrison on Hadrian's Wall rebelled, allowing Picts to enter northern Britain. Other barbarians then attacked on the western and eastern coasts. The commander of the coastal defences was killed, and the commander of the northern provinces captured. Three successive generals were sent by Emperor Valentinian to restore control, reorganise the army, and repair defences; the third general – Count Theodosius – was sent in AD 368 (Ammianus 27.8.1-28.3.1) (see Blockley 1980; Christie 2011: 88-89). With 2000 men he arrived in London to establish control in the south, while the north took longer to bring back to control (Ammianus 27.8). How accurate is this account? Certainly Ammianus

Table 5: Summary of historical events influencing town defence modifications and army movements

DATE	HISTORICAL EVENT
260-274	Gallic Empire, civil wars (Rome walled)
286-296	Carausian and Allectan revolts
312 and 314	Constantine visits Britain
343	Constans visits Britain
350-353	Magnentius' revolt
360	Lupicinnus expedition (at request of Emperor Julian due to raids on Britain)
367-368	'Barbarian conspiracy'; Count Theodosius' expedition
384	Magnus Maximus' expedition (campaign against the Picts)
396-398	Stilicho campaigns in Britain

Marcellinus' text has long been hugely influential so that any archaeological evidence of broadly the right date in forts or of town defences are usually assigned to this 'Theodosian reorganisation'. Even if details of the text may be questionable, we cannot deny problems in Britain. In reality, the archaeological evidence is limited, but certainly some forts on Hadrian's Wall saw repairs (Breeze and Dobson 2000: 224-231), and the watch-towers in the Yorkshire coast are usually assigned to just after this date (Ottaway 1997: 138), as are many (poorly dated) town bastions (see 6.4.1).

Problems continued: In AD 383 the usurper Magnus Maximus took forces out of Britain and may have abandoned parts of Wales and the west (Salway 1981: 404). Stilicho bought in nine units of a field army in AD 395, but nothing is known of this army (Southern 2004: 405), and it was probably removed in AD 401. The usurper Constantine III likely took further troops in AD 407, meaning that by the early 5th century an official Roman army was virtually absent from Britain.

Defending Britannia: Towns and Forts

Key military additions are the 'Saxon Shore Forts' established between AD 260 and 300 along the east, south, and west coasts of Britain (Pearson 2002: 57; Southern 2004: 396). Part to counter raid, part to house Roman fleet units, and part to secure inland routes (Johnson 1982: 106; Fulford and Allen 1999: 181; Cotterill 1993), the Shore Forts were closely related to the large towns of Roman Britain. Certainly, their construction will have had an impact on the major towns in the South-East as these were probably built by civilians under military supervision (Pearson 2002: 90), and towns such as London, Colchester, Verulamium, Canterbury, and Winchester all lay within close proximity to Shore Forts and so may have provided a significant number of people for the building projects. Pearson (2002: 92) calculated that a workforce of 2000 people for construction in one year (or 5 years with around 400 people). The defensive style of the Shore Forts was later mirrored in the major towns, with external bastions present on most Shore Forts (compare the bastions at Caistor-by-Norwich and Burgh in figures 101 and 102). Interestingly, the earliest town bastions appear in towns located close to the forts near to the coast. Most forts were not connected directly to the towns by roads, and so communications may have been via horse dispatch or via watch-towers along river estuaries – one is known at Shadwell on the Thames, east of London (Casey 1994: 125). The fort at Bradwell may have served a similar purpose for Colchester. Although Canterbury is the exception, with four forts linked by road, Casey argues that the recently-walled town was used as a rest-centre for troops (1994: 126).

Some of the Shore Forts and all the Yorkshire watch towers fell out of use before the end of the 4th century, the earliest being Lympne, Reculver, and Shadwell around AD 350-360 (Pearson 2002: 168). This may have had implications for the urban centres behind, and perhaps the addition of urban bastions around this time hints at increased military presence in towns. Some town – fort links were maintained longer; the remaining six Shore Forts show continued use into the early 5th century with late coins seen at Pevensey, Brancaster, Bradwell, Dover, and Richborough (the latter featuring a small church in its north-west corner).

Late Roman Buckles, Belts and Darts: An Urban Militarisation?

The clearest indication for a late Roman military presence in towns should be through the presence of military weaponry. The largest number have been found at Wroxeter where ten lead-weighted darts (*plumbata*), used by frontline troops, have been discovered. Elsewhere there are three from Caernarfon, two from Caerwent, and one each from Kenchester, Cirencester, and Catterick (Knight 1998: 43). A few are also known from various forts on Hadrian's Wall and in two Shore Forts (*ibid*: 45). Knight notes that the plumbatae could indicate small army units based within the walled towns (*ibid*: 46). Potentially, the absence of these objects from other towns in Britain (with the exception of Catterick in the more militarised north), suggests that these types of troops may have only been located in towns near military frontiers, though this image could change.

While such belt-fittings and brooches may signify soldiers (Bartholomew 1984; Hawkes and Dunning 1961), civil servants also wore comparable belts (Bishop 1991). These belts became larger and more elaborately decorated in the 3rd and 4th centuries (Esmonde Cleary 1989: 34), as did the crossbow brooch. Most 4th-century belt fittings have been found in the South-East and along the North-East coast (see Laycock 2008: 115). London has the highest concentration, followed by Cirencester (White 2007: 71). Logically garrisons were posted in the provincial capitals where state officials (in distinctive dress) and state warehouses or factories were based.

The Church

The acceptance of Christianity as an official state religion, surely had a profound impact on society in Roman Britain, within towns, the countryside, and the army, with implications on thought, places, and structures. Forms of worship may have evolved throughout the 4th and into the 5th century and we hear of various heresies in the province. In order to assess the urban role of the Christian Church in Britain it is necessary to look firstly at the documentary evidence and then at the archaeological evidence for Christian buildings and artefacts. In addition, a comparison to Christianity in other areas of Roman society – rural sites and the army – is crucial to place urban Christianity in context. Issues emerge such as: how widespread was Christianity; and what role did the Church play in late Roman urban society in Britain?

Historical Background

There will surely have been a Christian presence within Britain from the early empire, with numerous foreign visitors and traders. However, the first British martyrs, Aaron and Julius at Caerleon amphitheatre, are documented for the mid-3rd century (Gildas II: 10). Under Diocletian's 'Great Persecution', Alban was martyred, on a hill overlooking Verulamium. Despite intensive investigation, the location of the Shrine of St Alban is known only though documentary evidence: the *Life of St Germanus* by Constantius of Lyon (written in *c*.480-90) mentions Germanus visiting the grave of Alban – but without reference to the town (Thompson 1984: 12); Gildas, in the mid-6th-century, mentions a shrine on Alban's grave, but simply states it lay near the River Thames (Winterbottom 1978: 150); Bede, in the 8th century, reported that Alban was martyred on a hill 500 paces outside of the walled town on a hill the other side of a river: 'A church was built there, whose magnificent workmanship made it a fitting memorial to Alban's martyrdom' (Bede I: vii). Strikingly, late and sub-Roman cemetery and settlement activity on the south side of the abbey nave, along with associated finds from the area (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2001: 45), do indicate that this area was becoming increasingly important in the later 4th and 5th centuries.

From AD 313 and the Edict of Milan, Christianity became formally accepted, thus ending the persecutions. The Church council of AD 314 in Arles (*Acta Concilii Arelatensis*) offers the first documentary evidence for an organised Church in Britain, with three British Bishops attending: *Eborius* (York), *Restitutus* (London), and *Adelphius* (Lincoln), along with a priest and deacon known as *Sacerdos* and *Arminius* (probably from Cirencester) (Thomas 1981: 197). Each of Britain's four provincial capitals were thus represented, showing that Britain already had a Church hierarchy. Three British Bishops also attended a Church Council in Rimini in AD 359/60 (*ibid*: 197). In the AD 390s Victricius (archbishop of Rouen) visited Britain, possibly to resolve internal disputes (Petts 2003: 46), or else to deal with the heresy of Pelagianism, thought to be widespread in Britain. Constantius of Lyons records Germanus (a bishop from Gaul) visiting in AD 429 to combat this (and may have returned a decade later). This implies an active Christian authority in early to mid-5th century Britain and continued connections between Britain and Gaul (Thompson 1984: 10).

Actually identifying related Christian buildings, artefacts, and people is much harder. Thomas (1981) saw evidence across Roman Britain – in large and small towns, rural areas, and military sites. In Chapters 3-5 we have seen that possible church buildings in towns have varied interpretations, and the evidence in all is far from conclusive. Another indicator of Christianity are objects inscribed with a chi-rho monogram – an early symbol of two letters of the Greek word Christos (Petts 2003: 104). Yet the chi-rho is also closely used in imperial imagery, as seen on coins, lead seals, ingots, and pottery / lamps (*ibid*: 109). It is likely that state and Church were linked, and that (for elites) outwardly projecting a Christian image (either on wall frescos in villas, or on belt fittings) increasingly became a 4th-century fashion to bolster an individual's position in society. The varied imagery and changes in burial practices were likely because the 'Christian rite' was not established until much later (Esmonde-Cleary 2004: 424).

Urban Christians

Church administration was urban-based, centred on a bishop in each provincial capital of the diocese, and these will have formed part of a wider network of lesser bishops within the *civitas* capitals – these established at variable dates. In other western provinces Christianity became strongest in its urban form (Potter 1995: 101), perhaps because it became more of a religion for the upper classes (Christie 2011: 173-178). But this picture is less than clear cut for Britain. From the nine case studies of Chapters 3-5, five contain evidence for churches, though none are completely certain, but all were of a small size and built in timber. Some were sited on or close to the forum (Lincoln, Silchester), and these could relate to intramural Episcopal churches. Other possible churches are suburban within extra-mural cemeteries (Colchester, Leicester).

Looking beyond the case studies, at Verulamium, there are three potential late Roman churches: an apsidal building outside London Gate, another in *Insula* IX, and a possible converted temple in *Insula* XVI. The building outside London Gate in Verulam Hills Field, lies 80 metres outside the gate, it measured 8m wide x 11m long with an apse at the north-west end. Although interpreted as a church in the past (Thomas 1981: 180), close to this were fragments of a life-size bronze statue in a backfilled ditch – suggesting pagan associations (Niblett and Thompson 2005: 98). The small basilican building in *Insula* IX had no dating evidence or secure Christian finds (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936): it measured 32m x 12m and had a rectangular nave and two square apses; the 1m deep foundations suggest that it was a substantial tall structure. But the form resembles a

possible barn with tower granary recognisable in *Insula* II (Lewis 1966: 67). The third candidate is a modified temple in *Insula* XVI, whose precinct wall was rebuilt in the later 4th, and the original eastern entrance was blocked and a new entrance constructed to the south-west. This change in the main approach could suggest its conversion into a church (Thomas 1981: 180), though there is no supporting evidence.

In many other towns there is only slight evidence: for example, at both Cirencester and York, despite a bishop being known in AD 314, only one or two possible 'Christian' artefacts and no certain Christian burials are known (Wacher 1974: 311; Ottaway 2004: 137). If there were 4th-century urban churches, then these small timber buildings did not develop into larger buildings in the 5th century as they did elsewhere in the Empire (e.g. Gaul – see Section 6.6).

In contrast, there are good data for late Roman cemeteries at a large number of towns, although determining how 'Christian' these are is problematic. Petts views simple 'managed' cemeteries with west-east aligned burials and no grave goods as Christian, and, if correct, there appears to be large numbers of Christians in late Roman towns (2003: 163). Esmonde Cleary (2004: 424) rightly asks for caution, stating that in the 4th century there was no distinctly 'Christian burial', as Christians were buried like everyone else, and what we think of as a Christian burial developed later in the mid to later 7th century, based on continental evidence. Perhaps Christian cemeteries are most clearly distinguished by virtue of their physical segregation from non-Christians, though this is difficult to see archaeologically because we lack a distinctive rite associated with Christian burials (Booth *et al*. 2010: 522; Farwell 1993: 236). The large inhumation cemetery at Poundbury, Dorchester, Dorset (Farwell 1993) shows managed space with west-east aligned graves and wooden coffins largely without grave goods. Some groups of stone mausolea (with probable Christian wall paintings) and lead-lined and stone coffins were arranged into north-south rows; others on the edge of the cemetery were north-south with many grave goods. Noticeably these differing burial customs persisted late into the 4th century, so these are contemporary and spatially segregated people (*ibid*: 235). But the question remains – are these separating social classes or religious beliefs?

There is significant evidence for the survival of pagan beliefs. Watts (1998) claims that Romano-Celtic paganism was much stronger in Britain than paganism in Gaul and the Rhineland, and she strongly argues for a pagan revival in the later 4th century – by illustrating the longevity of Romano-Celtic temples and their worship. After AD 360 (when paganism was outlawed) there may have been a revival of old pagan superstitions in Christian burial (items like jet beads, pierced coins, and combs), may have been small enough to not offend Christian sensibilities. Pagan beliefs may also been seen through 'deviant' burial practices, such as prone and decapitations (notably seen at Booth *et al*. 2010; Farwell 1993), seen more often in later 4th-century cemeteries, and perhaps evidence of a revival of an iron age custom to reinforce a pagan identity.

Rural and Military Christians

Some rich villa owners opted to present themselves as Christian in the form of elaborate mosaics and frescos. Yet there is a clear fusion in the way these objects are presented between pagan and Christian. At Lullingstone in Kent, a large villa had one end converted into a private chapel in *c*.AD 375 (Meates 1979; Meates 1987). Amazing preservation of wall plaster revealed figures in a praying position, and the end-wall had a chi-rho fresco. Two villas in Dorset (Hinton St. Mary – MacGregor 2010: 281; and Frampton – Huskinson 1974) show Christian imagery inserted into earlier mosaics, combining pagan mythology with the (then new) Christian faith. These examples are as much elite display of good taste and refinement as a celebration of the new faith by the owners, and they were expressing and maintaining status through architecture. Perhaps towns were seen as a less important stage to present one's wealth, prompting rural domestic architecture to a more central role (Scott 2000; 2004: 52).

There are few known rural churches; Petts (2003: 67-71) lists four simple rectangular structures that replace pagan temples (Icklingham, Suffolk; Brean Down, Bristol Channel; Iley, Gloucestershire; and Nettleton, Wiltshire). Most evidence points to portable objects such as lead tanks and the deposition of hoards (see Painter 1977a, 1977b; West and Plouviez 1976); conceivably this indicates that Church money was spent on more portable objects in late Roman Britain.

As Christianity became the formal state religion the army would have been expected to worship the new god along with the Emperor (Petts 2003: 75). Five forts (some with fonts) show evidence for probable / possible churches, one at the Shore Fort at Richborough, Kent (Petts 2003: 75-76), and the remaining at forts at Hadrian's Wall (Birley 2010: 73, Bidwell and Speak 1994: 102-103, Crow 2004: 114, Wilmott *et al*. 1997: 203). Potentially fort churches also served a wider community, including soldiers' families. The fonts certainly suggest a more active role in the community. This factor may have aided a longevity of settlement activity at some forts, even after official withdrawals of troops, as seen at Birdoswald on Hadrian's Wall (Wilmott *et al*. 1997: 203-231).

Summary: Who Controls the Town?

In sum, the state, the military, and the Church, became intertwined as nodes of authority in late Roman towns. Each used and needed the town as a means to exert their control. While towns had urban fortifications, possible arms factories and stores, it is hard to tell if these actually contained garrisons; but they could have formed periodic bases for mobile army units. There may have been little to no active military in towns in the South-East and

Midlands; perhaps there were only military officials in these areas. The scattered historical sources show an active and functioning ecclesiastical network in late Roman Britain. Based on provincial bishops in major towns, churches can be traced in a few instances both inside and outside towns. What remains unclear is the level of church strength – buildings are small, but some lie in old central locations, implying direct link-up with urban authorities. Christianity was clearly utilised by the elite, who came to use this new form of expression to articulate their wealth or social standing.

6.4 Monumental or Ruinous? Changing Public Services

As a result of the shifting needs of the urban authorities, the range of public services underwent significant changes. The largest 'public' structures were the defences (rampart, walls, and ditch), that defined and enclosed each town. The enclosed public buildings were variously modified, demolished, downsized, or reused (Table 6), resulting in a remodelled civic centre, overall with reduced, fewer, and smaller facilities.

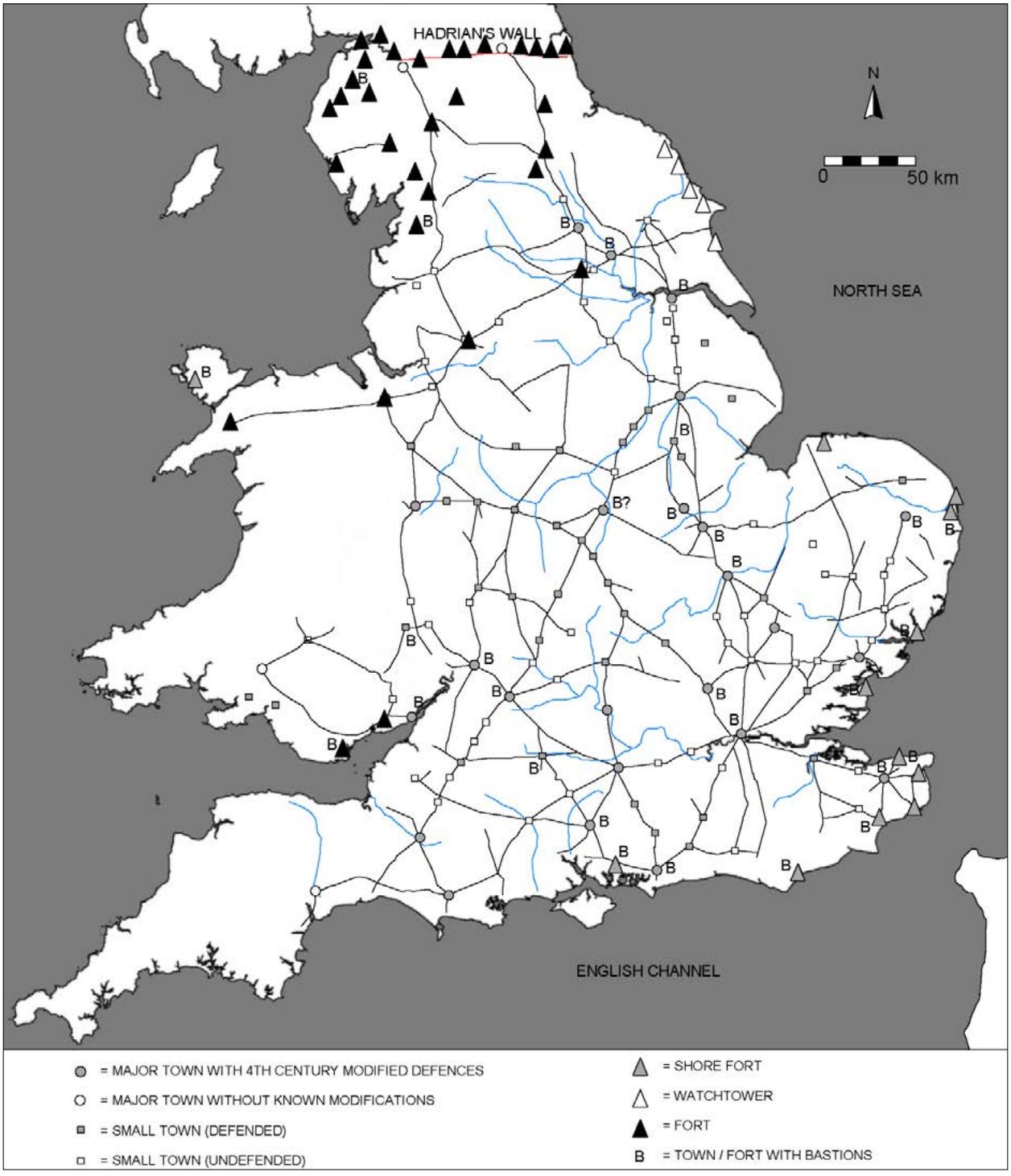


Figure 73: Towns with modified defences and active 4th-century forts in Roman Britain (drawn by author, data from numerous sources, base map after Ordnance Survey 2001)

Renewed Defences: *Spolia* and Bastions

All of the major (and many of the smaller) towns in Roman Britain featured defensive circuits: the *coloniae* (Colchester, Gloucester, and Lincoln) were walled in the late 1st to early 2nd century, and by the late 2nd century most towns had been provided with earthwork defences (cf. Butler 1983; Johnson 1983) – much earlier than other areas of the Empire. In the 3rd century stone walls were added to the pre-existing ramparts, or else built free-standing (e.g. at Canterbury – Frere *et al*. 1982; Catterick – Burnham and Wacher 1990: 114; and Silchester – Fulford 1988: 99). Therefore, by AD 300 the towns of Roman Britain generally all had a long history of defences, maintenance and elaboration. Unsurprisingly, by this time most were in need of renewal and evidence for repairs (some with spolia) is widely noted. Also around this time changes in military role, technology and weaponry led to projecting external bastions being added to many of the forts (especially the Shore Forts), prompting similar works on many towns along with hugely remodelled ditches.

The primary reason for the construction of town fortifications is often viewed as one of defensive purposes; of secondary importance was as a delimitation of boundaries, controlling or marking areas; and thirdly they denoted a form of civic pride (Wacher 1964: 103-113; see also papers in Tracy 2000). While town defence construction will have been state-driven (the state alone could sanction walls), Frere (1965: 137) believes individual towns would have had to fund the construction and maintenance of these (Casey 1983: 80, cf. medieval murage grants). Subsequent changes have often been interpreted as evidence for an external threat or insecurity and, as seen, there are plenty of historical events that would fit the bill (Table 5). However, the importance of urban fortifications as symbols of civic pride and competition should not be underestimated, even in the late Roman and the post-Roman periods (Christie 2000: 58). For example, the addition of bastions at Verulamium to the southern wall seems designed largely to create an impressive façade to visitors from London (Niblett 2001: 123); some towns were more conservative, lacking bastions but had elaborately dressed, imposing gateways (e.g. Lincoln), and some town walls may have been decorated in the fashion seen on the continent as at Le Mans – indeed, a diaper effect is seen at the Shore Fort at Richborough (Johnson 1983: 38).

Repairs, Additions, and Closures

Many town walls show repairs around AD 300; although most probably this links into a wider trend seen across the western empire (Christie 2011: 102-111). In some cases walls were heightened, for example at Canterbury (Frere *et al.* 1982: 67), Cirencester (Wacher and Salvatore 1998: 35), Dorchester (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 119), Ilchester (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 68); and Wroxeter (White and Barker 1998: 104). A key component of many of these repairs and new works is the reuse of spolia. At eight towns (see Table 6) material surely came from private housing, public buildings (fora, temples, mansines), and even cemeteries. Notable examples include London's riverside wall (Perring 1991: 124), Lincoln's thickened walls and new gate (Jones and Colyer 1999: 14, and Figure 61), Cirencester's bastions (Figure 25), and the south wall at Chichester (Magilton 2003: 165). This reuse need not denote an emergency construction: the London riverside wall in particular was well constructed. Far more likely the material came from structures that were no longer needed (along with cleared areas along the line of the circuit), and the good building material was conveniently located close by. Altars, milestones and architectural mouldings were similarly incorporated into forts like Richborough, Lympne, and Old Penrith (Blagg 1982: 131). At Chester numerous tombstones and other funerary monuments were added to the rebuilt stone defences, many of these being mutilated (Clay 2004) and hidden from view (although both LeQuesne (1999: 121) and Mason (2001: 203; 2007) suggest this north wall could denote 10th-century additions rather than 4th-century). Intriguingly, some of the architectural pieces from London were placed prominently on the wall's interior face and so could be seen – as possible remembrances of the past (n.b. the use of *spolia* is more widespread in neighbouring Gaul – see Section 6.6).

At six towns, there is evidence of gates being closed or reduced in size. Traditionally this was viewed as evidence for increased insecurity (e.g. Ashby *et al.* 1904 for Caerwent; Crummy 1997: 115 for Colchester). Two of the clearest examples are at Colchester and Caerwent around AD 300: Caerwent the South Gate was fully blocked with well-built stone (Ashby *et al.* 1904: 111-112); the North Gate subsequently went out of use and was blocked with some spolia (*ibid*: 92). At Colchester (Section 3.4), the closure (to wheeled traffic) of one, or possibly two gates, along with remodelled ditches (Crummy and Brooks 1984: 111-5), created a new main route into the town from London to the south. This made the main entrance avoid the less than attractive entry points of the part-blocked

Figure 74: A blocked town gate at Caerwent (photo by author)

Table 6: Towns with 4th-century defensive modifications

TOWN	STATUS	WALL / RAMPART HEIGHTENED / THICKENED	EXTERNAL BASTIONS	DITCH REMODELLED	GATES BLOCKED	SPOLIA?	REFERENCE
Aldborough (Yorks)	*civitas*		✓	✓			Jones 1971; Snape *et al*. 2002: 61
Ancaster (Lincs)	small town		✓				Todd 1974: 360-362
Brough-on-Humber	*civitas*		✓				Wacher 1969: 3-4, 49
Caerwent	*civitas*		✓	✓	✓	✓	Ashby *et al.* 1904: Manning 2003: 182
Caistor-by-Norwich	*civitas*		✓				Frere 2005: 311-327
Canterbury	*civitas*	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Frere 1982: 17-20, 33, 61-2; Blockley 1989: 128-130, 134; Hicks and Houliston 2001: 7; Hicks and Houliston 2004: 292.
Catterick	small town	✓					Burnham and Wacher 1990: 114; Wilson 2002: 462
Chichester	*civitas*		✓			✓	Magiliton 2003: 165
Cirencester	provincial capital	✓	✓			✓	Wacher and Salvatore 1998: 35-98
Colchester	colonia			✓	✓		Crummy and Brooks 1984: 111; Crummy 1997: 115
Dorchester (Dorset)	*civitas* capital		✓				Wacher 1974: 321
Dorchester (Oxon)	small town	✓		✓			Morrison 2009: 31-34
Gloucester	colonia	✓	✓				Hurst 1974
Godmanchester	small town		✓	✓		✓	Green 1960: 68-82; *Cambridgeshire Extensive Urban Survey*
Great Casterton	small town		✓	✓		✓	Todd 1968; Burnham and Wacher 1990: 135
Great Chesterford	town	✓					Brooks and Wallace 1991: 38-41
Ilchester	?*civitas*	✓					Leach and Ellis 1991: 11-84
Irchester	small town			✓			Knight 1967: 100-128
Kenchester	*civitas*		✓	✓	✓	✓	Heys and Thomas 1962: 149-178
Leicester	*civitas*		?	✓			Buckley and Lucas 1987; Jarvis 2012
Lincoln	provincial capital	✓		✓		✓	Jones 1980: 53; Jones 2003: 87
London	diocese capital		✓	✓		✓	Perring 1991: 124; Lyon 2007: 148
Mildenhall	small town		✓				Burnham and Wacher 1990: 150
Silchester	*civitas*			✓	✓		Boon 1974: 100; Fulford 1984: 88
Verulamium	municipium		✓		✓		Niblett and Thompson 2005: 73
Water Newton	*civitas*		✓				Perrin 1999: 38-135; Fincham 2004
Winchester	*civitas*		✓	✓			Biddle 1965: 238
Wroxeter	*civitas*	✓		✓			White and Barker 1998: 104
York	provincial capital		✓				Ottaway 2004: 75

gates, and presented a better overall image to visitors of a powerfully defended city. Elsewhere, at both Canterbury and Kenchester, dual carriageway gates were reduced to a single carriageway (Blockley 1989: 128; Burnham and Wacher 1990: 76). Such defensive modifications certainly denote the urban and provincial authorities' decision-making at work. These closures probably do denote insecurities, but also crucially show that what was inside these defences was clearly worth protecting or controlling.

A large number of smaller towns were also already defended in the 2nd century, but some only gained stone walls in the early to mid-4th century. These 'small towns' were too sprawling to have all the occupied area enclosed, and so just the core of these towns were enclosed. Notable newly-walled small towns include Catterick (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 114; Wilson 2002: 462), Dorchester, Dorset (Wacher 1974: 321), Great Chesterford (Brooks and Wallace 1991: 38-41), and Mildenhall (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 150).

External Bastions: When, Where, Why?

Projecting towers (or bastions) were added to many town walls in late Roman Britain. Traditionally, these are linked to the intervention of Count Theodosius after the crisis years of AD 367-368 (Frere 1974: 291), yet some examples clearly date back to the early 4th century, and indeed the projecting towers at York may date to the early 3rd century (Ottaway 2004: 75). Those at Caistor-by-Norwich date to the late 3rd century (Frere 2005, Figure 75), though the dating is not secure (W. Bowden pers. comm.) and perhaps take a lead from the nearby (and recently built) coastal Shore Forts (Figure 76). Bastions at Brough-on-Humber may belong to the late 3rd century, but bastions were still being built in the AD 330s (Wacher 1969: 3-4, 49). Some of the most securely dated examples come from London (AD 351-375 – see Lyon 2007: 148) and Caerwent, where a coin hoard of *c.*AD 350 is viewed as coming from a lost workman's purse during construction of a tower (Casey 1983: 58), though the latter is questioned by Brewer (1993: 56-65).

The bastions occur at towns ranging from the capital at London (at 128ha), down to small towns such as Great Casterton and Mildenhall (each *c.*6ha). They were constructed on the berm (between the wall and the ditch), and as a consequence the defensive ditches had to be re-dug, often from double, to single, wider and deeper ditches (Johnson 1983: 38). There is great variety in size and shape, even on the same circuit. Polygonal are common (Caerwent, Cirencester), but there are also semi-circular, square, rectangular (London), and fan-shaped (Ancaster, Godmanchester).

Often bastions were not provided on the whole circuit, as seen at the well-preserved examples at Caerwent where bastions only occur on the north and south sides spaced at irregular intervals (and none on the east and west sides, the main approaches to the town). The reasoning for this is thought to be due to a poor level of supervision in construction (Wacher 1974: 77), or as evidence of a piecemeal process that reflected the depleted nature of 4th-century finances (Casey 1983). A more recent study noted their relationship with internal counterforts (Manning 2003: 182), creating a more coherent defensive system. Alternatively these bastions were simply a visual deterrent.

Some towns have no evidence for bastions – notable omissions are at Lincoln – but there may have been no space for them, and perhaps that is why an internal stone walkway was added instead. At Silchester, a larger ditch may indicate bastions were planned but were never implemented; and Wroxeter has evidence for two platforms on the north-east, but no actual bastions. Much like the other 4th-century repairs to defences, many bastions were constructed using spolia, notably at Cirencester (see Figure 25), London (Dyson 1980: plate 57, Merrifield 1983: fig.34) and at Great Casterton and Kenchester (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 135, 76).

What functional role did bastions serve? An early view that persists is that they housed artillery (Corder 1955). Gaul and Germany have far more and much better surviving examples, and most towns that had stone defences by AD 300 were also equipped with external bastions (Butler 1961: 128). Potentially, these later external projecting towers in Britain were an attempt to modernise rather out-of-date defences. They could have acted as platforms supporting light artillery *ballistae* (arrow or dart firing machines – Johnson 1982: 125). A reconstruction of this weapon demonstrated a huge range of up to c.300m (Manning 2003: 182) – far more than the traditional interpretation of c.20m (Johnson 1982: 124; or Maloney 1985: 110)! Several tower examples in Gaul survive to two or three storeys, up to 15-20m tall, and openings survive indicating where the weapons would be fired from (Johnson 1982: 124). An alternative view is that the bastions were added to give the appearance of a well-defended town that '...must have made significant contributions to the barbarian dread of walled settlements' (Hobley 1983: 83).

The construction, maintenance, and additions to the town defences were huge undertakings. The 4th century was evidently a time when 'modern' town fortifications were seen as a necessity, creating strongly defended positions to protect what they housed on the inside: populations (the tax payers), and the remodelled public buildings of the civic core.

Remodelled Civic Cores

The central urban space and administrative core of all Roman towns was the *forum-basilica* complex consisting of an open piazza surrounded by large public monuments, including a temple to the state gods (and emperor). This area '...was central to public administration in the early empire, so major changes in these buildings ought to be significant' (Mattingly 2006: 336). In the later 3rd or early 4th century ten Romano-British *fora-basilicae*

Figure 75: An external projecting tower of the late 3rd century at the town of Caistor-by-Norwich, cf. figure below (photo by author)

Figure 76: External projecting towers at the Saxon Shore Fort of Burgh Castle, Norfolk, built AD 280-300 (photo by author)

were remodelled or rebuilt (Figure 77). Around the same time market buildings (*macella*) were being repaired or remodelled (as at Cirencester – Darvill and Gerrard 1994: 62; Gloucester – Hurst 1974: 33; Leicester – N. Cooper forthcoming; Derrick 2005; Verulamium – Niblett and Thompson 2005: 105; and Wroxeter – Ellis 2000: 57). In the better excavated examples we see core structures being adapted for other purposes. Why were these complexes changing? Was administration re-located? To where? How? Did local administration become less significant in the larger *civitas* capitals, and more power/authority devolve to the smaller towns? Arguably, civic and legal management could continue without the forum (Esmonde Cleary 1989: 72; Mattingly 2006: 337), with decision-making happening in smaller structures (Fulford 2008: 42). After all, crucially, what followed was not a decline of town life, rather a dramatic reuse of the central space for other purposes. As highlighted by Mattingly (2006: 337), and extensively researched by Rogers (2005; 2008; 2010; 2011), the most common new uses for fora were: metalworking, as a quarry for building material, or as a new religious focus.

Metalworking is best attested (Figure 77), with five town fora being used for iron, bronze, or lead-working. Rogers (2011: 131) claims a further three, though the evidence from these is very slight. The clearest data come from the larger-scale excavations at Cirencester (see 4.2.3), Silchester (see 4.4.3), and Caerwent (Brewer 1993: 63-4). Silchester has the longest sequence, from the late 3rd century into the early 5th (Fulford and Timby 2000: 73), though the peak of the metalworking is *c*.AD 350, as at Cirencester and Caerwent. The evidence points to a controlled reuse of the urban core, rather than a haphazard decline, but was the metalworking for state production or private enterprise? One interpretation for Silchester was for arms production to support the provincial army (Fulford and Timby 2005: 32-34), but clear evidence is lacking. Rogers meanwhile highlights the symbolic importance of reusing public buildings, noting the possible ritual associations with metalworking (2011: 144-148). Perhaps it was more a practical use of space and resources, the authorities and locals making the best of the available restricted assets to them.

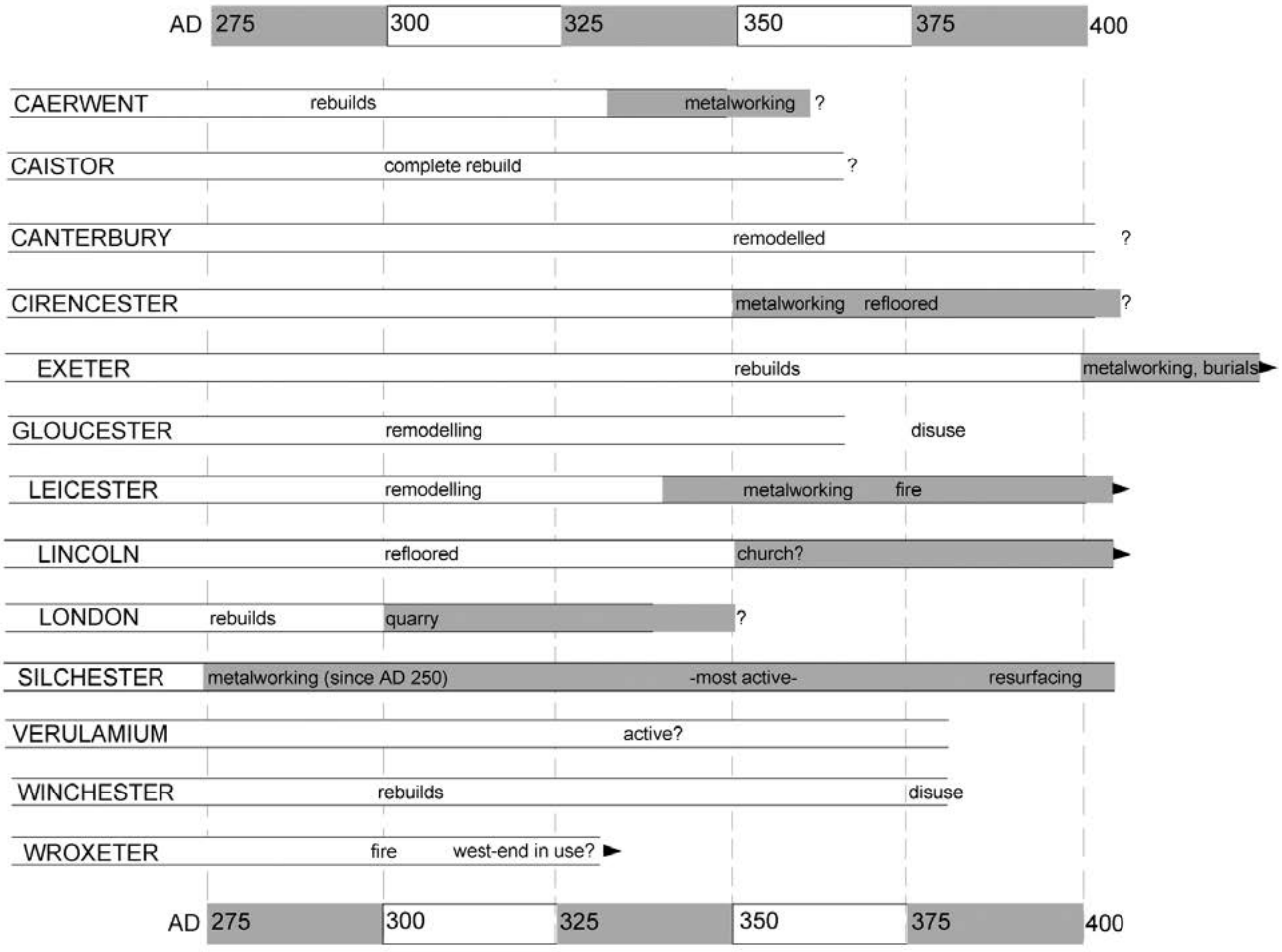


FIGURE 77: TIMELINE SHOWING WHEN FORA-BASILICAE WERE REMODELLED OR REUSED

At Verulamium the central public spaces were active throughout the 4th century: the *forum–basilica* saw the addition of a portico (this encroaching onto the street slightly) on its north-east side (Niblett and Thompson 2005: 163); the cobbled area north-east of the *basilica* was re-metalled in the late 4th century; the *forum* floor became very worn, though this activity is undated, but suggests continued market exchanges (villas around the town show continuity late into the 4th, and some into the early 5th century– Branigan 1973: 96). Indeed, the *macellum* was rebuilt with an elaborate façade and monumental arch (Niblett and Thompson 2005: 163). The latest pottery here is early 4th century, whereas coins go to AD 380 (*ibid*: 105). It is likely that the building was demolished within the Roman period, and a later (5th-century) structure set over it. The rebuilt *forum* at Caistor-by-Norwich was 'smaller and simpler than its predecessor' (Frere 1971: 12), perhaps the smaller design (thought to utilise mainly timber) was due to less ready access to stone (*ibid*: 20). Indeed, renewed building was not limited to the urban core – a street was widened in the north-east area with a large post-built structure built fronting the street (Bowden 2011: 263), and in the south-east corner there were many pits and ditches indicating an increased and intense period of activity (Bowden 2010: 138).

In contrast, two *fora* suffer an apparently early demise: London and Wroxeter. The latter (only seen in partial investigation) may have failed by AD 300 (White and Barker 1998: 112). Around the same time London's *forum-basilica* was largely dismantled (Brigham 1990b). As noted in Section 3.2, some of the dismantled material was perhaps reused in the riverside wall or bastions. This implies a controlling body and a labour force, and therefore a plan. But why a failure and robbing? Even without upstanding structures, the central space, if cleared of building material, could have remained a central meeting or market place. Larger central gravelled areas seen at Cirencester (Wacher 1962: 8) and Dorchester-on-Thames (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 120) may have served such a purpose.

The large spaces of the *forum piazza* drew in other functions in the later 4th and 5th centuries: in Lincoln a (4th- to 7th-century) timber beam-slot building was constructed within the piazza (see Section 5.3), which may represent a small church (Jones 2003: 128), or else a late temple or shrine (Gilmour 2007: 233). At Exeter four burials (C14 dated to *c.*AD 450) were neatly aligned cutting across the basilica wall nave, and may denote a cemetery associated with a church (Bidwell 1979: 111-113). The religious and burial evidence from these two towns is intriguing. Is it simply convenience – exploiting the open space of the *piazza,* away from other ruinous structures? Or is it one of symbolism – its position in the centre of the Roman town providing a statement of power and control by the emerging Roman Church? Either way both indicate a notable mental re-orientation of the old Roman urban design.

Reduced Leisure Services

Scattered beyond the administrative and market buildings lay the various public services like baths, theatres, amphitheatres, and temples. It is in these leisure services that there is a clear reduction, downsizing, and – like the *fora-basilicae* – reuse across the 4th century.

The public baths were often huge structures set close to the *fora-basilicae*. Nine of 15 known public baths were still in use after AD 300 (Mattingly 2006: 338). However, since most data are from small-scale excavations, their structural sequence is very poorly understood. Larger investigations show clearer views. Some were being scaled down, as for example at Wroxeter (Section 4.5) where fewer rooms were in use after AD 367 (White and Barker 1998: 113), and Exeter (Bidwell 1979: 122). Perhaps this work allowed baths to become more efficient to run; but it might also indicate a reduced demand – and population – in the late 4th century. Other baths were being remodelled and reused in the mid- to late 4th century, as seen at Canterbury (Section 3.5), where the baths at St. Margaret's were rebuilt and remained active until AD 350, after which industrial activities were inserted (Blockley *et al.* 1995: 171). Reuse of baths is seen elsewhere: e.g. a timber building of unknown function was added in the ruins of the bath colonnade at Caerwent (Nash-Williams 1930: 229-288). Some baths failed much earlier (such as *Verulamium* – see Niblett and Thompson 2005: 85-86), which might be an indicator of civic decline, as well as a sign that only the more important centres could maintain their water supply (Yegül 1992: 315). Since patronage was essential to support large baths, this may mean fewer wealthy elites around. Perhaps there were problems with water supply. Alternatively, had people's attitudes changed, and were people less clean? There may have been a lack of will for them from the local community, rather than a lack of resources. This has been suggested by excavators at the small town of Catterick where the latest phase of the military bathhouse was never completed. Resources were then instead focused on the town defences and the street system, and yet the 4th century was a time when the civilian settlement flourished and could have maintained a bathhouse if the desire was there (Wilson 1999: 243).

Change and decay of theatres and amphitheatres were already happening in the 3rd century in both Italy and Gaul (Christie 2009: 225). In Britain, from the few known examples, their use (and subsequent reuse) lasts comparatively long: seven towns have good evidence for theatres and amphitheatres being rebuilt or repaired c.AD 300, and their use persisting to *c.*AD 350 (Figure 101). In the later 4th century three sites show evidence for the reuse of these substantial structures: the theatre at *Verulamium* and the amphitheatres at London and Chichester were apparently reused as refuse sites, with quantities of domestic waste within 'dark earth' soils (Niblett and Thompson 2005: 101; Batman *et al*. 2009: 86; Wilmott 2008: 183). Clearly these spaces were no longer required for shows and games, and so their space (one central,

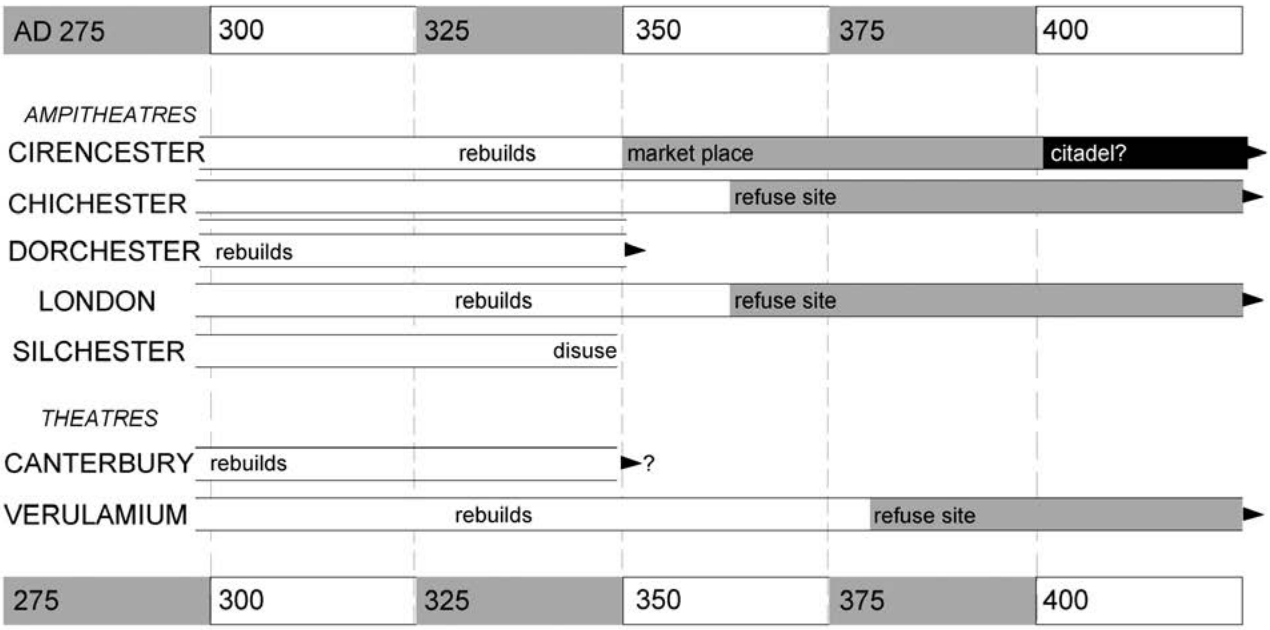


Figure 78: Timeline showing when theatres or amphitheatres were reused

the others peripheral) were utilised for rubbish dumping; this, however, continued civic authority controlled where people could dispose of waste. Interestingly, burials were found close to amphitheatres at three sites: London (AD 365-420 – Bateman *et al.* 2009: 92), Cirencester (after AD 400 – Holbrook 1998: 169-171), and Dorchester, Dorset (3rd century – Bradley 1975: 61-2). Were these Christians buried close to the ruinous amphitheatre because of the connections with martyrdom? Were the burials simply a casual reuse of redundant civic urban space? Amphitheatres were reused for other purposes too: that at Cirencester continued to be utilised long after it lost its primary role *c*.AD 350-360, and various modifications indicate its role as a possible market place in the late 4th century (Wacher 1995: 322), followed by a further conversion into a possible citadel in the early to mid 5th-century (Holbrook 1998b: 166). At Chester, the seven phases of activity, including a timber structure, are poorly dated across the 4th to 12th centuries (Wilmott 2008: 184).

Pagan Practices Persisting?

Temples were often linked to the use of entertainment and leisure facilities, but did they fall redundant sooner? Views are split on the longevity of paganism in late Roman Britain. A study on urban temples showed few Romano-British temples surviving in the 4th century with just 13 of 24 still active by AD 300, and virtually none by AD 375 (Faulkner 2004: 179). A more recent study notes the significant gaps in the data: Rogers identified 15 of 38 pagan temples persisting in the 4th century, and only three known to have been demolished by AD 300. He adds that the remaining examples are so poorly understood that the condition of them in the 4th century is unknown (2011: 97). Prominent examples of longevity are seen at the Romano-Celtic temple built in the centre of Caerwent around AD 330, which remained in use for most of the 4th century (Brewer 2006: 45). The Mithras temple in London perhaps continued to be used to AD 346 (Shepherd 1988b: 229), and a temple within *Insula* XVI at Verulamium for most of the 4th century. Some temples were reused, as at Colchester (Section 3.4), where one temple may have been converted for use as an external tower (Crummy 1997: 120), while the precinct of another temple became a municipal dump (Crummy and Brooks 1984). It is equally plausible that the temples discussed above at Caerwent and Verulamium were reused for other purposes (e.g. official state buildings or converted to a church?).

Comparing both town and country, Millett notes better survivals of temples in the 4th century (1990: 196). Watts (1991; 1998) argued that Romano-Celtic paganism actually persisted throughout the 4th century, and that it was much stronger in Britain than in Gaul and the Rhineland. Continued or revised pagan rituals may be seen in a rise in ritual decapitated burials in 4th-century cemeteries – seen, for example, in the recently excavated Little Keep at Dorchester, Dorset (Dinwiddy 2009); this is possibly a revival of an iron age custom (see Section 6.3). New information from old excavations at the Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath (a significant 'small town' with a major religious function – see Burnham and Wacher 1990: 165), signifies an extremely long use of this ritual site: the two latest re-flooring phases have been dated from the finds evidence and (crucially) new C14 samples (Gerrard 2007), indicating that the baths inner precinct was repaved c. AD 300, but that after AD 350 there was a marked decline in its maintenance. Nonetheless, it still saw repair, sometimes reusing spolia, with re-flooring perhaps occurring every 20 years, the latest dating to AD 430-450 (*ibid*: 159). The baths were demolished sometime after AD 450. This extremely late date shows the continued importance attached to the

temple-bath complex long after official Roman control had ended in Britain. Perhaps the Bath example highlights the continued importance of some pagan places, during periods of upheaval and change.

Summary: Reduction and Reuse

In summary, the 'public' image of towns in 4th-century Roman Britain is variable: investment in some units (defences, roads), new initiatives (metalworking), some sacrifices (some *fora, basilicas,* temples), and some aspects of maintenance (some baths, some theatres). As seen, it is questionable how far we need to see the rise of Christianity as a prime mover, or how far a militarisation of the state played a role. Towns needed people, especially those keen to invest in their towns, and the variable archaeological picture may reflect variable elite and patronage survivals.

Despite the loss of these services, crucially many of these now redundant urban spaces and structures were being reused for what they were needed for at the time. Generally, the picture that emerges is of increasingly dirty and noisy townscapes, with rubbish dumps in both peripheral and central areas, industrial activities within core areas, mixed with apparent open gravelled spaces for market trading. But, even if the appearance of towns had changed dramatically from the classical town of earlier centuries, they remained foci of population, exchange and control.

6.5 Population Profiles: Town and Country

Of the various estimates on the population of Roman Britain, perhaps the best thought out is that by Millett, who estimated for the early 4th century around 3.6 million people (1990: 185). This was predominantly an agrarian society, the majority living in rural areas (90%), with the urban population consisting of between 184,000 – 290,000 people (just 6.5%), and the army and associated families / dependents around 3.5% (*ibid*: 182-185). The largest urban population was probably at London – *c*.25,000 in the 2rd century (Swain and Williams 2008: 39). At the other end of the scale Caistor-by-Norwich (occupying just 14ha) may have had a population of just a few hundred. Most towns probably had *c*.5000 people (some perhaps 10,000). These numbers certainly did not stay static, and at Silchester the population (based on active buildings, pits, and water supply) is thought to be *c*.7600 in the 2nd century, with a reduction by about a third to *c*.5000 in the 4th century (Fulford 2012a: 265). Elsewhere, cemetery data at Winchester allowed the excavators to propose that the population of 8500-10,000 in the 2nd century was down to a few thousand in the 4th century (Booth *et al.* 2010: 528). Isotope analysis here pointed to a mixed population of locals and non-locals (Booth *et al*. 2010: 528; Evans *et al*. 2006), and similar data exist for Gloucester (Chenery *et al*. 2010), and York (Müldner 2011). However, as seen in the case studies (Chapters 3-5), the numbers of private houses show a steady reduction, certainly after AD 350, implying a much reduced urban population as the 4th century progresses. There are problems and gaps with the data, as many usage end-dates are uncertain (for example, 63% of 4th-century private buildings in Verulamium have an uncertain end-date).

Townhouse Reuse: Technology, Industry and Agriculture?

The gradual reduction in population size may have also seen a reduced mix of levels of social status, as seen from evidence for some large townhouses being divided up and reused for commercial and industrial purposes. Notable examples include: townhouse street-frontage rooms split into small workshops or shop units at Vine Street in Leicester (Higgins *et al.* 2009: 185); two large townhouses at Canterbury where a series of furnaces and timber structures inserted around AD 350 (Blockley *et al.* 1995: 171, 188; Hicks and Houliston 2001: 5); and a 3rd-century townhouse replaced by a number of 4th-century 'cottages' at Silchester (Fulford 2012a: 264). These point to a major status change, though not 'decline'. Despite the apparent loss (or reduced numbers) of elites, there was an active population engaged in commercial and industrial services.

A longer sequence of survival of elite residences can be seen at Verulamium. One of the more famous and controversial excavations is that by Frere of *Insula* XXVII in Verulamium (Frere 1983). Here a townhouse was built *c*. AD 380 on a vacant site; it included 22 rooms and a colonnade surrounding a courtyard. Later, two extensions were added, along with a series of high-quality mosaic floors. Some other floors were re-paved numerous times, which Frere frames to between AD 400-430. Following this a hole was cut through the mosaic floor of room 8, and a corn-drying oven or small hypocaust inserted in Room 15/16; this oven had a series of repairs (Frere 1983: 223). The townhouse potentially remained in use until *c*. AD 460. At this time a large rectangular structure, interpreted as a stone barn or hall, was constructed over the (demolished?) townhouse (Frere 1983: 224), and partly encroached onto a street. After an undetermined period of use, one of the stone buttresses of this building was damaged by the laying of a wooden water pipe. Dating is based on the stratigraphic sequence of the associated structures above. Coins found beneath the pipe-trench comprised one of Constantius II (*c*. AD 337-41), one of Constans (*c*. AD 341-46), and a small barbarous copy (Frere 1983: 226). Frere estimated activity lasting to AD 475+. Despite recent critical views by two scholars (see Neal 2003; Faulkner and Neal 2009), the stratigraphical sequence clearly shows that below a re-patched up floor in room 8 was a coin of Valens, providing a date of the very late 4th century; over this the series of floor surfaces surely show continued use at least into the early 5th century. This point was re-iterated by B. Manning on behalf of Frere (then in his mid-90s) at a major conference at the British Museum in 2010. The passionate response from a legend in British archaeology highlights the importance of what the archaeological evidence is showing us from *Insula* XXVII: namely that Verulamium was still an active if much changing town in the late 4th to mid- 5th centuries.

The evidence was clarified in a later journal article (Frere 2011).

Throughout the Roman period 'most Romano-British houses were built of wood' (Perring 2002: 83). However, a significant change in the 4th-century townscape were fewer masonry-built structures, and less diversity in the urban buildings, with most likely to have been built of timber. Private housing within smaller urban settlements seems to always have had fairly simple rectilinear forms of timber-framed buildings, if with regional variations (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 17; Burnham 1992: 9). Perhaps urban domestic housing was becoming more like that in the small towns; indeed, there may have been a (visual) blurring of distinctions between the *civitas* capitals and small towns with few public structures/monuments, and the more prominent evidence for industry within large towns.

A third significant change is an increase in the encroachment of buildings (and soils – see below) onto streets. Canterbury has the most prominent examples: at Marlowe Car Park a series of shop units were built over part of a street after AD 375 (see Figure 18), and may have remained in use into the 5th century (Blockley *et al.* 1995: 172); and at Whitefriars a timber structure was built across part of a street (Hicks and Houliston 2003: 7). At Leicester, small timber buildings encroaching onto streets were excavated at Freeschool Lane (after AD 375-378 – Coward and Speed 2009: 30), the west side of *Insula* XXVIII (Clay and Pollard 1994: 24), and an extra-mural roadside building at Bonner's Lane (Finn 2004: 14). Similar structures have been excavated at Lower Brook Street, Winchester (Biddle and Quirk 1962: 150). There are also instances of roads adjacent to public structures being utilised. Thus, at Canterbury, a timber building was built over a silted-up street next to the public baths in *c.*AD 375-400 (Blockley *et al*. 1995: 204-206); at Cirencester *c.*AD 367, a drystone wall was built across the full width of the street to the rear of the basilica and blocked off a street (Holbrook and Timby 1998a: 108); at Exeter a street next to the *forum* was blocked at some point between AD 300-350 (Bidwell 1979: 108); and at Wroxeter the street to the north of the baths basilica was reduced to pedestrian use at a late date, as timber structures prevented wheeled access. Such encroachment might indicate some breakdown of civic control, although the possible shop units at Canterbury seem well organised (rather than *ad hoc*) and the alterations to roads adjacent to public structures imply controlled and organised reuse of the urban space.

Paradoxically, alongside encroachment and pressure on streets, a key characteristic of later 4th-century towns is an increase in open, apparently unused space. Of course, towns did not always (or indeed often) fully fill the enclosed walled area: at London around 25% was still unbuilt in AD 200 (Swain and Williams 2008: 39), and larger unbuilt areas are envisioned for Wroxeter (White and Barker 1998: 30). However, the later Roman period saw further open and/or unused space resulting from a loss of some public buildings, and increasingly fewer large private

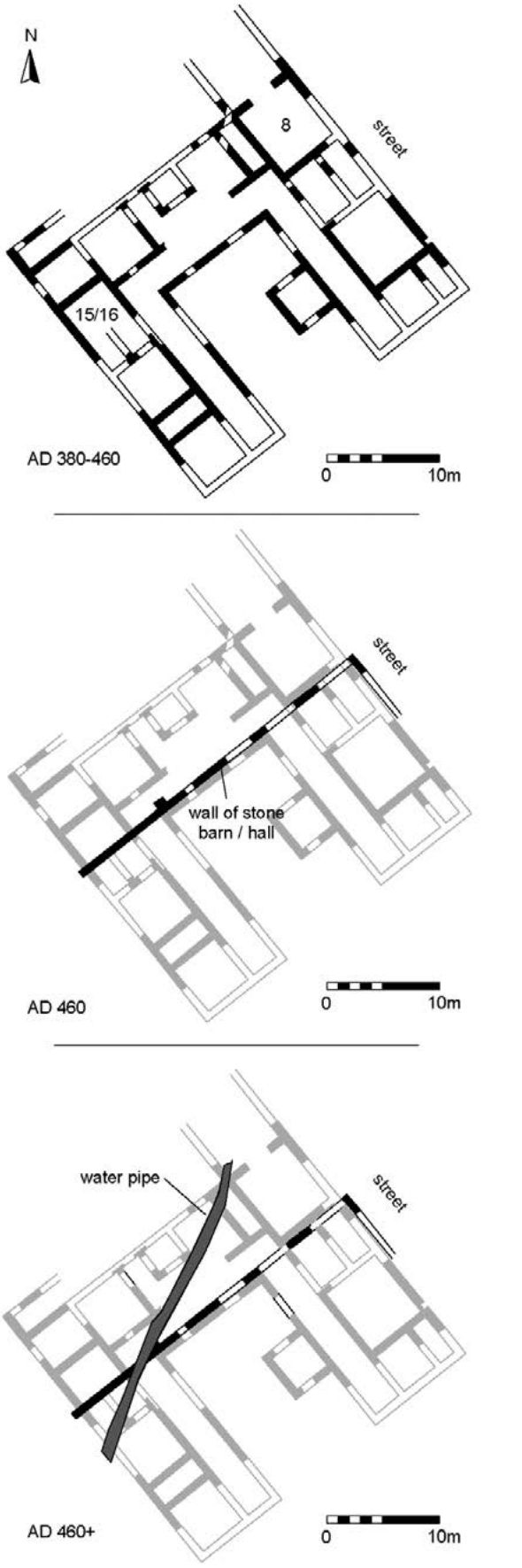


Figure 79: Development sequence of a building in *Insula* XXVII at Verulamium, showing transition from townhouse to barn (drawn by author, updated from Frere 1983: 215, fig.82)

townhouses. If the redundant structures were not utilised for industry / commercial activities (as evidenced above in private housing), they will have been dangerous places with potentially falling masonry (the collapsed *macellum* wall across a street at Leicester is a striking example). Quite often these spaces appear to have accumulated with 'dark earth'. This soil deposit has been revealed in many historic towns in England (and Europe), and usually consists of a thick dark soil layer separating the final Roman deposits from the later Anglo-Saxon and medieval features (Brooks, 1986, 80; Yule 1990: 620; Macphail 2010: 145-166). It varies in its composition according to local conditions, but in general terms it can be described as a dark brown/grey silt-clay loam. It includes small pieces of granite rubble and tile building debris. Finds can consist of both artefacts ranging in date from the 4th through to the 6th centuries AD. The thickness of the deposit varies from site to site and town to town from 20cm to 2 metres, and generally there are no visible internal archaeological features. Interpretations vary markedly. Early views saw it simply as wind-blown rubbish and dust (Frere 1966: 93), indicating decay, collapse, and decline (Arnold 1984: 31), and a regression to a 'squatter occupation' (Reece 1980: 88; Faulkner 2004: 174). More informed views see it as a cultivation soil or dumped deposits which seal the end of the Roman structural sequence (Yule 1990: 625). Rather grandly (and with no evidence), Carver sees these as indicating parts of the urban space being utilised by the rich for villas in newly landscaped parks and gardens (Carver 1987: 46). More functional is the view of this soil as an indication of remains of timber structures and / or animal waste. If so they could point to intense occupation (Dark 2000: 52). Others have more balanced views, noting a decay but continued use of the urban space on a reduced scale (Ottaway 1992: 71; Christie 2000: 66; Mattingly 2006: 340). Detailed soil analysis reveals how some were formed by accretion and biological reworking of occupation soils and waste deposits, and they formed from a wide range of activities (Macphail *et al.* 2003: 357; 2010: 155). Perhaps for the context of 4th-century towns in Britain, these soils most likely signify rubbish disposal areas. From the analysis of the towns in Chapters 3-5 dark earth exists in virtually all urban areas, from public buildings like *fora* (Leicester, Cirencester), amphitheatres (London), and theatres (Canterbury, Verulamium), through to abandoned townhouses (all, bar Verulamium), and suburbs (Winchester, Southwark – London).

There were few newly constructed large 'public' buildings in the 4th century, but a notable addition is the appearance of large masonry apsidal buildings. At least 12 examples are known from eight towns (Table 7), found in diverse areas, like demolished townhouses (Colchester), over streets (London), or more peripheral areas (Verulamium), some in association with townhouses (Cirencester, Dorchester, Leicester). Most seem to post-date AD 350. There is great variety in their size, ranging from 100 x 50m at London to 12.5 x 8m at Cirencester, with perhaps an average size of *c.*20-30 x 10-15m. Some had simple earth-beaten floors (Colchester), yet others had mortared flooring, marble inlays and window glass (Lincoln); most contained evidence for reused materials (spolia) within walls or floors.

This variety in size and form probably reflects differing functions, and interpretations vary dramatically (because of the lack of conclusive evidence from any of the known examples): churches (though the evidence is slim), assembly / audience / meeting hall role, or storage / agricultural buildings. The likelihood is that these are collection and storage points for grain for the *annona* (Faulkner 2004: 113; Hinton 1990: 6-7). In aisled buildings found in association with townhouses, the more likely view is these were agricultural barns. The most prominent example comes from Cirencester, where two townhouses on the edge of the town featured various associated smaller farm buildings to the rear (McWhirr 1986: 45). Similar aisled buildings found in association with townhouses are known at Leicester and Dorchester. Strikingly similar 'farms' occur at the small town of Catterick when it was becoming increasingly commercially-central to the region in the 4th century (Wilson 2002: 463). In other small towns, aisled buildings known across the Roman period are found to have a variety of functions from domestic, agricultural (Ilchester, Neatham), industrial (Water Newton – Perrin 1999), or commercial (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 20). While an agricultural presence may have always been present within Roman towns, such masonry aisled buildings are not seen in towns prior to the 4th century, and thus continue to demonstrate changing townscapes – perhaps indicating their 'ruralisation' in the later 4th century. The centralisation of agricultural produce indicates that the state now deemed it safer to store in walled towns.

A Rural Revival?

So, if these were fortified towns, with grain depots, industry, etc. were they attracting in the peasantry? Throughout the Roman period the major towns had their food supplied by the hinterlands, and pottery and other trade from much further afield. This changed in the 4th century with pottery supplies to towns being far less diverse, most coming from local sources. Was this down to insecurity in the Empire, dropping the trade flows? This is notably seen at Cirencester (Cooper 2000: 78-79), Gloucester (Timby 1999: 40), Leicester (N. Cooper, pers. comm.), and York (Roskams 1999: 63). While this certainly shows the continued importance of towns as economic foci in the 4th century, it also points to increased dependence and demand on local, rural sites. A key issue is how did these increasingly ruralised urban centres interact with other smaller settlements in their hinterland: the small towns, rural settlements, and villas? How far were they attached to, or detached from, the wider landscape?

By the early 4th century, along with an increasing population (based on Millett's estimates), and increased tax demands, there will have been a swell in requirements for grain and other produce. This may have led to

Table 7: Details of 4th-century masonry aisled buildings in major towns

TOWN	LOCATION	BUILT	SIZE (length by width in metres)	INTERPRETATION	REFERENCE
Colchester	Culver St, Building 127	AD 300	45 x 17	agricultural barn or state granary	Crummy 1992: 112-116
Cirencester	The Beeches a	AD 350	15.5 x 8	agricultural barn	McWhirr 1986
Cirencester	The Beeches b	AD 350	25 x 13	agricultural barn	McWhirr 1986
Cirencester	The Beeches c	AD 350	12.5 x 8	agricultural barn	McWhirr 1986
Cirencester	The Beeches d	AD 350	15 x 8.5	agricultural barn	McWhirr 1986
Dorchester (Dorset)	Greyhounds Yard	AD 375+	24+ x 13	agricultural barn (crop storage and processing?)	Woodward *et al.* 1993: 365-7
Dorchester (Dorset)	Colliton Park	AD 375+	20+ x 14	agricultural barn	Rogers 2011: 122
Leicester	Vine Street	AD 300	23 x 12	agricultural barn	Higgins *et al.* 2009: 143
Lincoln	Flaxengate	AD 300+	60 x 25	assembly or audience hall for official purposes	Jones 2003: 89
London	Colchester House	AD 350+	100 x 50	agricultural barn, state granary, church	Sankey 1998: 79
Verulamium	*Insula* IX	AD 300-400	32 x 12	barn with tower granary	Wheeler and Wheeler 1936
Wroxeter	south of baths	AD 300+	30 x 13	Meeting hall, agricultural barn, state granary, church	Colls and White 2013: 75-87, White and Barker 1998: 104, 108

innovations in farming (Millett 1990: 201), and possibly more intensive agricultural practices, such as in some areas that were not best suited for cereal agriculture began to be farmed (such as the edge of the Fens – see Esmonde Cleary 2004: 414). A notable shift in rural settlement from fewer individual farmsteads to increasing numbers of nucleated settlements in the 3rd and 4th centuries is beginning to be noted following fieldwalking surveys in differing zones across the country (Taylor 2007: 110-112). Closely linked to the countryside were the larger roadside settlements and the so-called 'small towns'. These were far more organic in their growth and development than the major towns, they had irregular street systems, some had defences, and many had differing key commercial, economic, or social functions. In the 4th century there is growing evidence for their increasing prosperity (Millett 1990: 147; Burnham 1992: 13), perhaps at the expense of some of the larger towns. A valuable example is the small town of Water Newton, which grew to almost twice the size of nearby *civitas*-capital Leicester and had a thriving and sprawling settlement beyond the walled zone that featured industrial activity (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 84; Mackreth 1992; Perrin 1999; Fincham 2004).

In the first half of the 4th century there certainly seems to be an increased elite investment in villas (Millett 1990: 186), and some view this as indicating a withdrawal of high-status people to country retreats (Bowes 2010) in order to avoid urban tax demands, or for other reasons. Their display of wealth was no longer attached to urban public monuments, but instead was in private residences through mosaics and frescos, sculpture and learning, as a chance to show off the latest fashions (such as Christianity? – see Scott 2004). However, civil war, raids, and economic slippage seem reflected in how villa numbers declined in the second half of the 4th century (Millett 1990: 186), suggesting displaced elites. Did they return to the towns? Did villa decline mean declining rural exploitation?

In contrast, small market towns were becoming most economically vibrant in the 4th century (Millett 1990: 143-51). Potentially, in some areas like Yorkshire, the larger urban centres (York, Malton, Aldborough) may have been bypassed in favour of the small town of Catterick (Roskams 1999: 67; Wilson 2002: 463). Important to the success of 'small towns' was the intimate link they had to the wider landscape through agriculture (field systems

and cultivation plots), the economy (shops / workshops, market centres?), and industry (pottery production). While they may have generally lacked obvious official public buildings (with exceptions at Godmanchester and Droitwich), some had a religious focus, notably at Bath. Millett views small towns as an 'indigenous urbanism' (1992: 33), suggesting much stronger local influences on urban form and growth. Perhaps so, but increasing Roman state control is evident with the construction of defences at a number of small towns signifying some recognised official role in the Late Empire. Some may have taken on some of the roles once performed by the larger towns, indicating significant changes in urban roles. The increasing visual similarity of small towns and large towns may simply be a sign of the larger centres playing 'catch up' (or running down to the less monumental) to the most efficient and successful form of late Romano-British urbanism: the small ruralised town.

6.6 Provincial Urbanisms: Beyond Britannia

Were these modifying and evolving Romano-British townscapes in line with changes in neighbouring provinces? As Britain was closely tied to Gaul, Germany, and Spain – from AD 260 to 274 it was part of the Gallic Empire, and then part of the smaller revolt by Carausius from AD 280-296 (King 1990: 176, 181) – we might seek comparable trajectories. However, Britain was on the northern fringe of the Roman Empire, was of a much smaller-scale, had a shorter urban history (though still *c*.350 years!), and was less densely urbanised than these other provinces: Gaul / Germany had *c*.60 major towns (Knight 1999: 13) and Spain *c*.90 (Kulikowski 2004: xxi). Britain, by comparison, had the lowest density of towns in the Empire with around 20-24 (Mattingly 2006: 268-269). Did this mean that there was a weaker control, and a weakened or diluted elite input, and that Britain's urban fabric was more fragile than elsewhere? Against this, we might observe how Britain was 'cushioned' overall from most of the 3rd-century traumas and showed prosperity for much of the 4th century – at least in the overall villa context. Crucially, did Rome neglect Britain?

Gaul and Germany

Roman Gaul and Germany (*Gallia*) saw dramatically changing townscapes from the mid-3rd century. From this point, many public buildings (such as temples, amphitheatres, baths, market halls, *basilicas*) were demolished (Christie 2011: 226; Esmonde Cleary 1989: 72; Knight 1999: 10). The masonry from these (presumably redundant) buildings were reused in 'fort-like town walls' (Knight 1999: 10), enclosing reduced areas of former open towns and becoming fortified castra (Harries 1992: 79; Loesby 1996). Built from AD 286-340 (Knight 1999: 30), defences were well constructed, functional, and strong, and most had external projecting towers. Some walls were even decorated: the use of dark and light stone ashlars creating a 'diaper' effect is known at Le Mans, Rennes, and Carcassonne (Johnson 1983: 38). The smaller enclosed spaces surrounded administrative structures and storage depots, and may have acted as military strongpoints when needed (Christie 2011: 107). Towns perhaps remained as administrative centres and markets and may have had fewer elites. There were few new buildings, with notable exceptions at the new Imperial capital at Trier where much construction work occurred, including a vast Imperial palace (King 1990: 183), while at Arles, large public baths were built (Figure 80). In other towns the earlier public structures were often reused: for example, at Amiens the *forum* was reused as a granary (or store), and the *macellum* used for metalworking, while the baths at Famars were used as a corn mill (Knight 1999: 32).

Traditional views saw the town wall construction as evidence for depopulation of the suburbs and part of a process of long-term urban decline (King 1990: 178, Harries 1992: 79). Knight rejects this, however, noting that walls were an Imperial decision, since these protected state property, not the entire local populace (1999: 15, 32). Also, in the 4th century these suburbs were active with Church space.

A first prompt was most probably the raids of various barbarian groups (Alamanni, Burgundians, Franks, Vandals), periodically crossing the frontier from the AD 250s onwards. Rural settlements were damaged, with various villas and *vici* being abandoned. This may be due to economic decline as well as the impact of civil war (the Gallic Empire in the AD 260s and 270s), rather than purely from barbarians, and certainly there appears to be a shift of industry closer to the frontier regions near to the imperial army (Knight 1999: 17). There may have been a growing divergence in settlement forms between northern and southern Gaul: Northern Gaul featured a much lower density of towns, similar to Britain. Urban and rural decline seems to have been more significant in these areas – King argues that this is because this area had '…no direct imperial or official interest' (1990: 185).

Towns in Gaul differ dramatically from Britain with the clear appearance of churches, firstly within peripheral zones, and later shifting into the *castra* (Kipling 2000: 160). The church network of bishoprics and churches was well established by the late 4th century (King 1990: 201), prior to the major period of Germanic settlement from the mid 5th-century. This strong network may be one reason for Gaul's clearer urban continuity and survival, with Christian presences in Britain still weak in the late 4th century.

Spain

For long it has been argued that 4th-century Hispano-Roman towns saw only broad changes, with towns slowly failing as regional markets that resulted in reduced populations, and villa estates bypassing towns (Keay 1988: 190). More recent studies (Kulikowski 2004; Portass 2010) point to a far more diverse picture – much like Britain, with some towns seeing profound growth, and

Figure 80: The large 4th-century public baths at Arles, France (photo by author)

others showing apparent stagnation. In reality, from *c*.AD 290-310 walls were constructed in around 40 towns (Keay 1988: 179), and, like the Gallic defences, many had spolia in the lower sections and external bastions *(*Kulikowski 2004: 101, 106-107). For example at Barcino (Barcelona), the lower section of the walls used tombstones, altars, and other architectural fragments, as seen still *in situ* below Plaça del Rei (see Beltrán de Heredia Bercero *et al*. 2002; and Figure 81). However, unlike Gaul's small castra, the Spanish walled circuits generally encompassed larger areas, and the grand construction may have been a form of public display of status (rather than purely defensive) – as hinted at by the lavish gate façade of Gijón (Kulikowski 2004: 108), and the huge circuits at Braga and Lugo (Portass 2010: 128). Some towns gained smaller circuits (such as Codeixa a Velha, Tiermes, and Cartagena), sometimes incorporating *spolia* (Keay 1988: 181).

The huge state investment points to a continued Imperial interest in Spain: '...a blatant restatement of Roman authority in *Hispania'* (Keay 1988: 179), not matched in Britain. However, newly walled towns did not function in same way as before, but they persisted as active centres of population and controlled administration of areas. The new Diocesis Hispaniarum of five rather than three pen*insula*r provinces, seems to have had a profound effect on the new capitals. At Mérida (the capital of the new dioceses), archaeological and epigraphic evidence points to an influx of wealth with the restoration of the theatre and circus and lots of high-status domestic housing (Kulikowski 2004: 110). Public buildings were restored at Lisbon and Tarragona, and at Cercadilla a vast new palatial building was perhaps for the civil administrators of the province of Baetica (*ibid*: 114). Smaller towns with commercial functions flourished, especially ports on the east coast, such as Santa Pola, Gren Vell, and Barcino (*ibid*: 122). Towns in regions that in the past were viewed as quickly decaying (such as Braga, Lugo, and Astorga in the north-west) are now, following recent archaeological studies, showing similar sequences of late Roman flourishing (Portass 2010: 111). The appearances of towns were certainly changing, though Kulikowski views this as structural decay, rather than urban decline, with towns 'gradually growing shabbier to the eye' (*ibid*: 127). There was a slow-down of building due to reduced public benefactions (*euergetism*), though perhaps it was never a popular practice in the pen*insula* (*ibid*: 91). A decline in use of theatres and public bath-houses was similarly more due to changing tastes rather than financial decline. As in Britain and Gaul there is evidence for public spaces being reused for other purposes, as seen at Tarraco where the basilica was destroyed by fire *c*.AD 350, the space later colonised by a burial ground (Keay 1988: 184). Small timber housing – characteristic of 4th-century Romano-British towns – is seen at Italica (region of *Baetica*), with some houses encroaching onto the edge of streets (Keay 1988: 184).

Christianity appears firmly established in the 4th century in Spanish towns, with bishops registered by the early 4th century, such as Ossius at Cordoba and Potamius at Lisbon, (Kulikowski 2004: 240). Churches were located in extra-mural areas, in the areas of the cemeteries (the huge cemetery at Tarragona is of note). The first intra-mural church is recorded in the late 5th century at Barcelona, located under the modern cathedral (*ibid*: 233-234).

Figure 81: Detailed view of Barcelona's 4th-century town defences; extensive reused material is clearly visible in both tower (to right) and main wall (photo by author)

Arguably it is only from the 6th century onwards that churches come to the fore (a text records 80 episcopal *civitates*), and with towns remaining the focus of political life in the pen*insula* under Visigothic rule (*ibid*: 287).

A North-Western 4th-Century Urbanism?

From this brief overview of 4th-century urbanism in Britain's nearest neighbours, one can see numerous similarities in the adaptation and structural changes of the urban fabric. Key similarities lie in the major defensive additions and in the reuse of public spaces and structures. All these areas contrast with more central areas of the Empire where there are more prolonged sequences of classical urbanism, notably in Italy and North Africa. Towns in these areas have many of the features and failings noted above, and do start to appear and even accelerate from the early 5th century (Christie 2006: 183-280; Leone 2007: 45-126; Sears 2011: 115-143; Wickham 2003: 385).

Yet Britain differs from both Gaul and Spain in its longer history of town walls: there were no British *castra*, but instead walls were updated with external bastions. Spolia in town walls is far more common in Gaul and Spain than in Britain, though this is perhaps obvious as most British towns were walled much earlier, presumably on 'green-field' sites. The spolia derives from demolished structures – evident chiefly when reduced circuits are established.

Both Gaul and Spain show stronger evidence for urban Christianity in the 4th century than Britain. A good Church network may be one reason for the clearer urban continuity and survival. Where urban elites perhaps persisted, these transformed with time into the clerical / religious elite. Time was not available, of course, for late Roman Britain to develop thus.

6.7 Summary: Town Life at the End of Roman Britain

In the wake of Empire-wide social, military, and economic upheavals of the late 3rd century, Romano-British society underwent profound transformations in the 4th century that resulted in significant changes within all forms of settlement. It was the larger towns that arguably saw the most considerable transformations in appearance and in activity inside, being substantially different to the previous 250 years of their urban past. Externally the newly remodelled walls and external towers of the large towns will have been impressive and imposing. Yet within, most of the iconic stone buildings of the 2nd to 3rd centuries lost their patronage and were gradually reused or downsized. This is best viewed as the 4th-century populace simply reusing the structures to better suit their needs, rather than denoting a decline of urbanism – and /or urban living. There was probably a gradual reduction in population, and certainly reduced numbers of elites from *c*. AD 350. From this point onwards there were fewer public services and increasingly more open areas. Much of the housing was likely timber-built. There were still some official buildings (such as storage depots), and strong indications of industrialisation in core areas, and perhaps ruralisation in the more peripheral intra-mural zones. The larger towns by *c*. AD 350 may have actually looked and acted in a far more similar way to the small towns. Certainly, the State continued to value towns – the defensive additions attest to that – and yet the Church may have also begun to stake a claim as a growing urban authority, from the mid-4th century. This new type of 4th-century urbanism was not unique, many similar aspects can be traced in other areas of the Empire in Gaul, Germany, and Spain. As seen, these were still towns, however, and these remained mirrors of an evolving Roman world *c*. AD 400.

Chapter 7:

Towns as Settlements, or as Symbols of the Past? 5th- and 6th- Century England

7.1 Introduction

By the early years of the 5th century AD, towns, already in a state of major flux, were on some levels much removed from their early Imperial past. Many towns had perhaps already lost their focal role to 'small towns' in an economic system that was no longer fully functioning. In addition, the army was extremely debilitated by internal revolts and regular withdrawals from the province, and rural settlements were particularly vulnerable to attacks from barbarian incursions.

By AD 410 Britain was abandoned by official Roman control – in the traditional view, quickly leading to the collapse of the Roman financial and taxation system, the wider market and monetary economy, and government. Without Rome's formal presence were towns needed? Could they be sustained? Or did people simply view them as an unnecessary burden? The subsequent appearance of new peoples and groups like the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes – initially raiding then becoming settlers – began a transformation of the cultural appearance of people and their settlements. Current archaeological evidence indicates that by the mid-5th century new Germanic populations – or groups with non-Roman identities – were present throughout eastern and central England; the 6th century is then characterised by more stabilised cultural influence (and presumably settlement) into western England (Henson 2006).

How did the break-up of Roman regulation and the arrival of new Germanic peoples affect life within towns? The common assumption is that towns after AD 410 – and before their clearer re-emergence in the (7th and) 8th centuries (see papers in Hodges and Hobley 1988) – saw a complete desertion and abandonment (Brooks 1986: 77-102; Faulkner 2004: 221). Others conversely point to some level of Roman-style continuity (Dark 2000: 105-114; Henig 2011: 519-524). Gildas, writing *c.*AD 480-550, is not explicit, implying that towns were still lived in but in smaller numbers, yet with many also ruinous:

> *sed ne nunc quidem, ut antea, civitates patriae inhabitantur; sed desertae dirutaeque hactenus squalent…"*
> (But the cities of our land are not populated even now as they once were; but to the present they are deserted, in ruins and unkempt…)
>
> Gildas II: 26

The timespan *c.* AD 410 – 600 is arguably one of the most poorly understood 'historic' periods in Britain. With a virtual absence of contemporary written documents, various shadowy figures emerge mainly from later sources (such Ambrosius Aurelianus, Arthur, Vortigern), whose roles, if real, are unclear. However, if we emphasise the archaeological record, it is now possible to show that some towns were still utilised in this early post-empire Britain. It is proposed here that there was not a simple choice of abandonment or continuity, rather different towns in various regions of Britain followed diverse trajectories. During these *c.*200 years, we see emerge a regionally fragmented complex of localised zones or kingdoms (perhaps initially based on the *civitas* regions). Some towns persisted as settlements, and were utilised in a 'sub-Roman' style as elite centres (model I), while others appear more distinctly rural, with a far less Roman and more 'Anglo-Saxon' character (model II). Others failed, but some shifted settlement focus and yet remained near to the former Roman towns (model III). Finally, some towns show elements of two or three of these 'models of change', perhaps as a reflection of progressive transformations over time. Each town may not display simply one of these settlement forms, and often at least two forms are seen; for example, Verulamium's and Wroxeter's sub-Roman longevity ultimately led to a failure and shift of settlement. Each 'model' is now explored fully below, followed by an assessment of who was living in, and controlling, these once-urban spaces.

7.2 Models of Change I: Sub-Roman 'Urbanism'

In AD 400 Britain was still part of the Roman Empire, but by the end of the decade it was officially abandoned by Roman control. This final phase is remarkably well documented: we know that in AD 406 the army in Britain rebelled (after being unpaid since AD 402) with high-ranking army officers turned usurpers – Marcus, Gratian, and then Constantine III – taking field units out of Britain to Gaul (Orosius 7.40.4). Probably in winter the same year, barbarians crossed the frozen Rhine in large numbers and entered Gaul. In AD 409 Zosimus records that:

> ...the inhabitants of Britain...revolt from Roman rule and live on their own, no longer subject to their (Roman) laws...freed their cities from the barbarians who were threatening them.
>
> 5, 2-3

This statement could recall a rebellion in Britain by *bacaudae* – a peasants' revolt – comparable to uprisings occurring in parts of Gaul and Spain at around the same time (Wood 1984: 3; Dark 2000: 30; Faulkner 2004: 249; Mattingly 2006: 532). It seems possible that (unlike in Gaul), the rebellion succeeded, and the residual elites were removed in some areas. No clear attempt came by the

Table 8: Summary of each proposed 'model of post-Roman urban change'. Showing main archaeological indicators, and key places showing such evidence

Model of Change	Typical structural evidence	Typical finds evidence	Settlement traits	Towns with good evidence
I. Sub-Roman 'urbanism'	'Roman-style' housing: (masonry & timber), use of spolia (e.g. rubble platforms), rectangular with sill-beams	Adapted Roman-style pottery and jewellery forms, pottery imports	Focused on core of Roman town, re-use of central space/public buildings, maintaining route ways. Burials continuing in areas of 4th-century cemeteries	Wroxeter, Silchester, Verulamium
II. Anglo-Saxon ruralised nucleus	'Germanic/Anglo-Saxon' – style housing: earth fast post-hole 'halls', SFBs	Anglo-Saxon handmade pottery and brooches, etc	Avoidance of core Roman town (public buildings), peripheral or suburban areas preferred. Some continued use of main existing route ways. Burials continuing in areas of 4th-century cemeteries	Canterbury, Colchester, Dorchester (Oxon), Leicester, Winchester
III. Failure and shift	Elements of either of the above	Elements of either of the above	Outside of town walls in locality, along main routes (road or river)	Caistor-by-Norwich, Cirencester, Dorchester (Dorset), Lincoln, London, Verulamium, York

Table 9: Settlement forms of case study towns in the 5th and 6th centuries AD

Town	Area	Continue (Sub-Roman)	Continue (Anglo-Saxon)	Failure and Shift
Colchester	SE		✓	
London	SE			✓
Canterbury	SE		✓	
Verulamium	SE	✓		✓
Cirencester	SW			✓
Silchester	SW	✓		✓
Winchester	SW		✓	
Leicester	MID		✓	
Lincoln	MID	?		?
Wroxeter	MID	✓		✓

Empire to regain control of Britain, as in AD 410 Zosimus records that: '...Honorius, having written a letter to the cities in Britain announcing that they should protect themselves...' (VI,10,2-11.1). As with all the extant sources for this period this is a controversial entry: in the past and still recently it was simply accepted (Collingwood and Myres 1937: 294; Drinkwater 1998: 271; Dark 2000: 29; Barrett 2009: 198), but now it is viewed as a scribal error relating to a town in southern Italy (Birley 1979, 2005; Mattingly 2006: 530). More secure is the record that, in AD 411, the usurper Constantine was killed by Honorius' troops in Gaul, after which there seems to have been no attempt to return Britain to the Roman Empire (Thompson 1977).

From this point onwards then, we officially enter a 'post-Roman' Britain – though the end of Roman Britain should not be viewed as a single event, but rather a longer process over much of the later 4th century (see Chapter 6). Certainly, the loss (or rejection) of the provincial government around AD 409 had profound

social and economic effect. There were various significant endings at this point: of coin supply, pottery and mosaic production, and building in stone (though this was arguably rare anyway after AD 350). However, we should not assume a complete discontinuity with Rome, as in some zones, in the early decades of the 5th century (prior to more intense Anglo-Saxon settlement from AD 440s), Roman urban-style society (or at least that way of living) survived, forming part of a 'Sub-Roman' Britain (Myres 1986: 23). That some Britons still looked to Rome comes in Gildas' reference to a British appeal (without success) to a top Roman military commander in Gaul for help around AD 440: 'To Aëtius...the groans of the Britons...the barbarians drive us to the sea' (Gildas II: 20). The attachment to the Roman past appears longest in western Britain, the province of *Britannia Prima* offering the strongest evidence for longevity of a Roman-style or 'Britto-Roman' / Brittonic society (White 2007: 151). The material cultural evidence typically consisting of Black Burnished Ware (Form 18) pottery, pins and penannular brooches, and imported Mediterranean pottery (*ibid*: 153, 155, 157). Gildas's work (written *c.*AD 480-550, perhaps in South-West Britain) meanwhile shows that even a century after the formal end of Roman Britain, Latin was still being taught (and studied) in some areas. Other views see a larger Sub-Roman or late antique Britain, championed by Dark (1994, 2000), who sees a continued Roman-style of cultural, political, and military power throughout the 5th and even the 6th centuries. The evidence is clearer for western Britain, while his argument for eastern England is a little weaker, based largely on gaps in distribution maps (such as Anglo-Saxon cemeteries), that in his view denote the presence of sub-Roman British, surrounded by the newer Anglo-Saxon populations. The major change in the archaeological record in terms of the appearance of vast numbers of Anglo-Saxon burials in these zones would seem to point to a notable influx of invaders.

Wider studies continually point to a culturally split England from AD 450 (and certainly by AD 500), with an eastern zone of Germanic 'Anglo-Saxon' settlements and burials (up to Hampshire, east Gloucestershire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire), and a western zone (Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, Wales, north-west England) where a more Romanised culture survived. The people of the 5th century thus consisted of the residual Romanised populations and much smaller numbers of newer (non-Roman, Germanic) peoples. The complexity of the population was not simply Roman or Anglo-Saxon, since we also see a likely presence of Irish settlers in both Wroxeter and Silchester (Barker *et al.* 1997: 237-8; Clarke and Fulford 2000: 10). Together these various peoples will have formed a multi-layered society (or societies) with combinations of cultural accumulation and divisions that were culturally-constructed – all of which, however, are extremely difficult, or impossible, to see in the archaeological record. Dress, language, and weapons may have been used as symbols of differences, marking out territories in a fractured Britain.

The study of the use of towns during this period offers the chance to assess levels of sub-Roman society. Towns were core to the Roman economic system, so what need of them after that system had collapsed? The lack of a single central control probably resulted in a more regionally fragmented power structure. What begun to emerge was the desire by (new?) elites in some areas to promote the memory of the Roman Empire as a way to display power and control, towns being one such tool. Towns could have acted as a central base – or fortified warlord residence – for control of smaller, regional territories, which may in time have become kingdoms. Written sources show that new elites begun to emerge quickly, as would be expected in a power vacuum: Procopius states that Britain was left in the hands of 'tyrants' (Vandal Wars, 1,2.38); Gildas similarly declares that: 'Reges habet Britannia, sed tyrannos' ('Britain has kings, but they are tyrants' III: 27). Gildas in fact names five kings: Constantine of Dumnonia, Aurelius Caninus, Vortipor of the Demetae, Cuneglasus, and Maelgwn of Gwynedd, all of whom are thought to rule in areas of the west or South-West of Britain (see George 2009: 65). Attempts have been made to trace other warlords of the time (such as Vortigern, Hengest, Ambrosius, and Arthur), most recently by Laycock (2009), but with limited success.

Most case study towns in Chapters 3 – 5 featured Roman buildings that continued in use into the early 5th century, and yet only two towns have significant evidence for longer sub-Roman continuity – Wroxeter and Silchester – whose excavations were carefully investigated in green-field sites (i.e. not in modern cities under commercial constraints). Wroxeter, in central-western England, offers the most famous example (Section 5.4): the numerous Roman-style buildings built in the 5th century in the former baths-*basilica* area denote evidence for continued use of the urban space (Barker *et al*. 1997; Reece 1980: 84; Esmonde Cleary 1989: 153). Conceivably controlled by someone living in a large Roman-style structure, it was surrounded by smaller buildings, while evidence for market activity throughout the 5th century shows that this remained a central place for trade and exchange.

Such 'sub-Roman' continuity does not appear to be limited to western Britain, since there are pockets hinted at elsewhere. As seen at Silchester, similar 'Sub-Roman' style urban structures are well recorded, used throughout the 5th century (Fulford *et al.* 2006: 43 – Section 4.4). Also of note is the lack of 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture from Verulamium, and its surrounding area. This has led many scholars to describe the area surrounding Verulamium as a Saxon-free zone (Rutherford 1982) or British 'enclave' (Dark 2000: 102). Certainly the inhabitants of Verulamium do not appear to have switched to new building styles (SFBs) seen elsewhere, even if occasional 'Anglo-Saxon' pottery has been discovered (e.g. at Colchester Road – Niblett and Thompson 2005: 173), indicating some partial take-up of the new material culture.

Comparison could be drawn with maintained but altered use of forts like Birdoswald (Wilmott 1997) and South Shields (Bidwell and Speak 1994) on Hadrian's Wall, with hall-like structures potentially denoting the seats of local 'chiefs', perhaps these being descendents of former military commanders. Here, local militarised power bases emerge overseeing local territories. If we claim similar urban power bases (more 'fortress' than 'town'), these urban chiefs could have drawn upon larger populations to defend and secure the sites.

While we may assume that Christianity played some central role in such persisting towns, the evidence is extremely limited and the dating of components such as the small church and burials at Lincoln is much debated (see Section 5.3) – we have little beyond putative construction dates. Yet we might still speculate on elites using churches to control the urban populations. It is, however, evidence of a statement of power and control, and a form of sub-Roman continuity. At Verulamium a persistence of Roman style housing in the 5th century may be due to the presence of churches (three possible sites are proposed, see Section 6.3). The archaeological evidence indicates two main foci of occupation: one in the town centre, the other to the south of the later medieval abbey.

Indeed, it is possible that these examples of once-fully urbanised spaces continuing to act as central-places relate to leaders of smaller tribal territories (some perhaps based on the *civitates*), fashioned in the Roman-style. Perhaps this was a means to legitimise power, or living in this way was still deemed the norm. It is not proposed that a sub-Roman type of settlement occurred in towns in all areas of Britain, though given the right excavation conditions further examples like these may well emerge. Given the longevity of a 'Britto-Roman' society in Western Britain (White 2007: 151) it is in this area (largely the zone of the western late Roman province *Britannia Prima*, see Figure 72) that we should expect to see more towns used in this way. Towns hinting at such evidence include: Bath, Caerwent, Chester, Cirencester, Exeter, and Gloucester – see summaries in White 2007: 185-190). A much later entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (9th century) hints at continued use of Roman towns (as seats of authority?) in the South-West by Britons who had lost three cities to the Anglo-Saxons in AD 577:

> Here Cuthwine and Cealin fought against the Britons and they killed three kings, Coinmagil and Candidan and Farinmagil, in the place which is called Dyrham; and took three cities: Gloucester and Cirencester and Bath
>
> trans. Swanton 2000: 19

Any form of continued sub-Roman urbanism was not ultimately successful: those with the clearest evidence (Wroxeter and Silchester) failed in their role as a central place, and almost entirely as settlements, by the later 6th century. By this point, the cultural influence of the Anglo-Saxons had expanded (i.e. structural forms and material culture become more culturally defined as 'Anglo-Saxon') and diverse settlement foci were emerging (other than towns), that were used to maintain social and military stability to cement political alliances; the re-use of Iron Age hill-forts for a limited time (e.g. South Cadbury – Alcock 1972) and new high-status defended settlements (e.g. Tintagel – Morris *et al.* 1990; Thomas 1993) being the clearest examples.

7.3 Models of Change II: Anglo-Saxon Ruralised Nuclei

A second model of change is also one of a continued settlement, but one that can be termed as a ruralised, nucleated, form. Arguably towns were already devolving into this type of settlement from *c.*AD 350 (see Section 6), if retaining still a more urban and 'Roman' character. However, 5th-century ruralised settlement in many former towns was characterised by new forms of buildings (sunken or earth-fast structures), the appearance of (more) open spaces, and new material culture (handmade pottery and elaborate brooches), all commonly associated with Anglo-Saxons.

The earliest Anglo-Saxon settlement is much debated, but after Roman rule officially ended *c.*AD 410 the following decades likely saw the arrival of increasingly more Angles and Saxons, some perhaps as colonists, some as mercenaries or federates. The Gallic Chronicle of AD 452 records that in AD 441-2: 'Britanniae, usque hoc tempus variis cladibus eventibusque latae in dicionem rediguntur' ('The British provinces, which up to this time had suffered various disasters and misfortunes, were reduced to Saxon rule', Chronicle of 452). This is a controversial entry (Miller 1978: 315; Burgess 1990: 185-186), but now largely accepted (Jones and Casey 1991; Higham 2004: 6). So, by the late 5th century Anglo-Saxon culture and society appears (in the archaeological record) to have almost entirely replaced that of the Roman past (with some Sub-Roman exceptions see Section 7.2).

While DNA and finds specialists may debate numbers and origins of these newcomers, we can use archaeology to trace their material signatures from the mid-5th century. Anglo-Saxon buildings, artefacts, and burials have been found at 18 Roman towns (Table 10) ranging from former provincial and *civitas* capitals through to smaller defended settlements. Were these newcomers drawn to towns? Who were they? Did they live inside or outside these places? Any new settlement within these towns would necessarily have been influenced by relict Roman buildings, route-ways, and defences. If, perhaps, with a preference for open ground. Perhaps the defensive circuits even took on new symbolic meanings in the 5th and 6th centuries AD as enclosures of authority for new lords. Many of the major Roman buildings, especially the public structures, will have remained upstanding and visible entities throughout this period and beyond.

At three of the larger towns surveyed, namely Canterbury, Colchester, and Leicester, there is good structural,

artefactual, and burial evidence to model such settlement patterns (Figure 82). Their available plans reveal different settlement patterns, and the structural and artefactual evidence does span almost 200 years, so the settlement may well have shifted over that period. What can be suggested is that all three towns show their main, new settlement foci to be located away (but still close to) the old Roman civic centres – i.e. away from the large ruinous public buildings that may have presented a dangerous or cluttered place to occupy. This contrasts with the sub-Roman settlement discussed above (Section 7.2), where settlement remained fixed on the core of the old Roman town. Canterbury has the largest number of early Anglo-Saxon structures excavated in any town (over 40), and most lie in a single *insula,* indicating a confined (or defined) settlement (Section 3.4). The buildings were in fact located in areas sparsely occupied in the late 4th century, being built away from the street frontages and ruinous public buildings. A broader spread of structures and finds at Leicester (Section 5.2) indicates similar patterning, if with a focus of settlement(s) in the north-east area, once again in *insulae* sparsely occupied in the later Roman period. A second settlement focus lies to the south of the walled-town and may be of a broadly contemporary date. At Colchester (Section 3.3) the evidence points to settlement gathered on the (once urban) fringes, close to the town defences, in areas that were open spaces in the later 4th century.

Evidence from most of the other large towns is limited. Winchester has comparatively large quantities of Anglo-Saxon pottery and other finds found across the town, but no associated structures (Section 4.3). Perhaps the earliest post-Roman settlement in towns had little physical impact on the existing Roman town, which partly adds to the difficulty in identifying such evidence. Or, if there were enough pre-existing buildings viable, we should not expect new types to be employed to the exclusion of the old. A useful comparison is Lombard Italy, where in the later 6th and 7th centuries AD a Lombard presence is well documented, but rarely evident from archaeology except as burials in the 7th century AD (see Christie 1995).

We may just be seeing patterns emerging that show where excavations have focused most heavily, the possibility exists that such settlement was more widespread, or that the patterns seen show that but settlement may have also shifted over time, as evident at contemporary rural settlements such as West Stow and Mucking (see Welch 1992: 30, 32). The use of timber for housing means greater difficulties for coherent archaeological study in non-greenfield sites. At the same time the sole use of timber shows a new or different culture, perhaps one less accustomed to urban sites – hence the 'ruralised' image of these settlement foci in these old town spaces. It is (of course) possible that there may be no patterns to identify: occupation may have simply been a disorganised, scattered, and *ad hoc* affair. This seems unlikely, however, as at extensively excavated Anglo-Saxon rural settlements distinct settlement zones can be interpreted: for example, at West Heslerton (North Yorkshire), housing, craft and industry, agricultural processing, and higher status zones are proposed (Powlesland 1997: 112-113). The evidence from towns is far too patchy at present to show clear settlement zoning like this, but perhaps the intense clustering of SFBs at Canterbury (Section 3.4) indicates a craft zone, and the cultivation plots seen at Winchester (Section 4.3) signify an agricultural area. Further settlement zoning could be indicated at Leicester: the post-hole structures (a housing zone?) of possible Anglo-Saxon date are all located in the far north-east corner of the town, while four SFBs (a craft zone?) are clustered in one *insula* closer to the centre of the former Roman town. What can be seen is a deliberate choice to live inside the walls of the town, showing a desire (or perhaps need?) to maintain and continue living inside a defended, obvious and (still) populated space, even if, as seen, these were much altered, evolved, and changed 'townscapes'.

If the viable area of settlement was quite restricted on account of the ruinous Roman structures, is there any other way to assess the possible extent of 5th- and 6th-century settlement? The density of Anglo-Saxon finds may be one useful tool, given that most structural evidence will have been lost to truncation or modern development (Speed 2010: 84). Taking Leicester as an example, the Roman urban defences enclose an area of 45ha, of which *c*.6.2ha has been excavated (*c*.14%). Taken as a whole, the density of Anglo-Saxon finds is very low, at just *c*.39 sherds per hectare (SPH), suggesting a very limited level occupation. If, however, only those excavations featuring Anglo-Saxon pottery are included (seven sites over 0.7ha) then a much higher density of 292 SPH emerge. A useful comparison can be made with the nearby 6th-century rural settlement at Eye Kettleby, located 19km north-east of Leicester. The excavation here revealed evidence for a substantial settlement with 20 post-built structures and 25 SFBs (Finn 1997, 1999, and pers. comm.). Across the 4.5ha site *c*.3000 sherds of pottery were recovered, giving a density of *c*.666 SPH. For a wider comparison, at Mucking in Essex, 53 post-built structures and 203 SFBs were recorded, with *c*.11,000 sherds (9,441 from SFBs) over 18ha (Hamerow 1993) – equating to 611 SPH. Of course such comparisons should be viewed with caution, especially since the finds range in date over 200 years, but they may still provide an indication of the size of the post-Roman population and settlement. Based on these quick comparisons, the population within Leicester may have been fairly significant. Winchester, a similar town, has a number of early to mid Anglo-Saxon pottery sherds, but the material came from far fewer and smaller excavations (compare Figure 32 and Figure 48). The quantity of structural evidence from Canterbury points to an intensive and active settlement. It is possible that the extent of the settlements in these towns was larger than that seen at Leicester. Overall, though, the present evidence shows that settlements within the former towns may not have been on the scale of the proto-villages (like Mucking or West Hesterton), but was more dispersed, perhaps with fewer than a couple of hundred people.

Table 10: Roman towns with evidence for 5th- to 7th-century 'Anglo-Saxon' activity (see Table 31 for full details)

TOWN	ROMAN TOWN STATUS	'ANGLO-SAXON' STRUCTURES	'ANGLO-SAXON' ARTEFACTS	'ANGLO-SAXON' BURIALS
Ancaster	vicus / small town			✓
Caistor-by-Norwich	*civitas*	✓	✓	✓
Canterbury	*civitas*	✓	✓	
Catterick	vicus / small town	✓	✓	
Chelmsford	small town		✓	✓
Cirencester	provincial capital	✓	✓	✓
Colchester	*civitas*	✓	✓	✓
Dorchester (Dorset)	*civitas*	✓		
Dorchester (Oxon)	small town	✓	✓	✓
Godmanchester	small town	✓	✓	
Great Casterton	small town			✓
Great Chesterford	small town		✓	✓
Ilchester	small town		✓	
Leicester	*civitas*	✓	✓	✓
Lincoln	provincial capital		✓	
London	diocese capital	✓	✓	
Winchester	*civitas*		✓	✓
York	provincial capital			✓

We have already seen (in Section 6.5) that Roman 'small towns' appear to be particularly successful places in the later 4th century. If so, perhaps we should see more evidence of settlement continuity in these places in the 5th / 6th centuries? Currently, eight small towns have evidence for Anglo-Saxon activity (see Table 10). However, many of these sites are poorly or very patchily excavated, meaning that most of the evidence only consists of burials and/or occasional finds (as at Ancaster, Chelmsford, Great Casterton, Great Chesterford, and Ilchester), Anglo-Saxon structures are known outside of the walls at Catterick (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 117), and Godmanchester (Cambridgeshire Urban Survey 2003: 37).

The Roman small town of Dorchester-on-Thames (Oxfordshire) offers a fuller view of persisting 5th- and 6th-century life, and offers a useful 'small town' perspective and comparison to the larger case study towns of Chapters 3-5. The suggestion here of a post-Roman population has been known since the 19th century, when three burials were discovered that were thought to indicate the presence of Germanic mercenaries in late Roman Britain (Kirk and Leeds 1952 – shown on (Figure 83). This (now rather outdated) view was based on the belt fittings worn by Roman officials (discussed in Section 6.3), though in fact finds from these graves contained a mixture of both Romano-British and Germanic objects, and so reveal much as to the fluidity of identities in the 5th century. Structural evidence is patchy, but does resemble evidence observed in the larger Roman towns discussed above.

Scattered settlement occurs in three zones: one in the far north-west corner at Beech House where a number of SFBs cut into gravel and mortar floors of an extant courtyard building (Rowley and Brown 1981: 10-22), and another in the southern part at the Allotments (Frere 1962, 1984). At the latter, excavations in the 1960s uncovered an unusual looking SFB that respected the edge of a Roman street (Frere 1962); in 2010, a further SFB positioned in a similar arrangement was discovered (Booth *et al*. 2011: 13). A further potential settlement cluster lay in the south-east (Old Castle Inn), close to the River Thame (possibly outside of the Roman east gate), where Anglo-Saxon finds and two other (far from certain) examples of SFBs were located (Bradley 1978: 21-3). Two separate cemeteries (one Roman in character (Queenford Farm) and the other Anglo-Saxon (Wally Corner) – see Figure 83 – provide a slight overlap in burial activity from AD 400-440, as shown by recent radiocarbon dating (Hills and O'Connell 2009). This suggests a community continuing to live in or close to Dorchester throughout the 5th and 6th centuries, with no occupation break. New Anglo-Saxon peoples arrived in the area in the 5th century (perhaps early on – again based on these C14 results), and with an overlap of *c*.40 years people changed from being buried in a Roman style to the more culturally dominant Anglo-Saxon style of burial (i.e. with objects such as weapons, brooches etc).

Further evidence pointing to a continued importance of former Roman towns as meaningful 'places' in 5th- and 6th-century Britain is shown in the maintained usage of

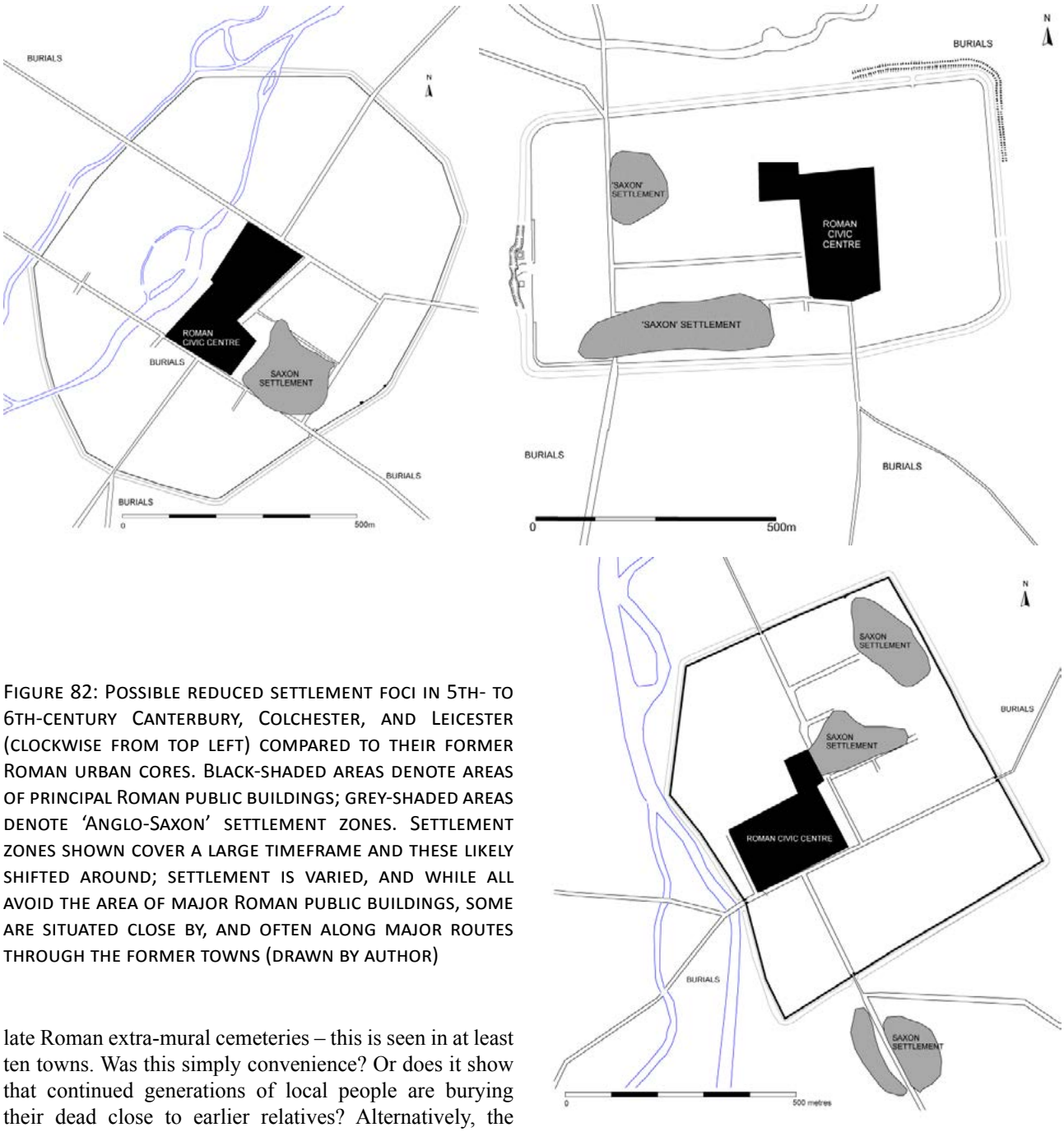


Figure 82: Possible reduced settlement foci in 5th- to 6th-century Canterbury, Colchester, and Leicester (clockwise from top left) compared to their former Roman urban cores. Black-shaded areas denote areas of principal Roman public buildings; grey-shaded areas denote 'Anglo-Saxon' settlement zones. Settlement zones shown cover a large timeframe and these likely shifted around; settlement is varied, and while all avoid the area of major Roman public buildings, some are situated close by, and often along major routes through the former towns (drawn by author)

late Roman extra-mural cemeteries – this is seen in at least ten towns. Was this simply convenience? Or does it show that continued generations of local people are burying their dead close to earlier relatives? Alternatively, the burials could be part of an early Anglo-Saxon perceived importance (and recognition) of past monuments. Anglo-Saxon burials are often found in association with Bronze Age barrows, and other Roman structures (Williams 1998: 92; Crewe 2008; Thomas 2008) and those close to towns could have been a way to associate themselves with past powerful forces, and so legitimize political control. Also, the extensive early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries found across the country do give us an insight into levels of status in 5th- and 6th-century society (Welch 1992: 71-81). Some burials found close to towns show evidence for high status, as at Leicester, with different burial types evident and where there is a group of apparent high-status burials containing swords clustered close to the river and in an area of a former later Roman cemetery, in a different area to more simple cremation urns (Figure 55); was this some reflection of class division / segregation?

7.4 Models of Change III: Failure and Shift

While some towns clung onto their Roman past, others appear to fail entirely, not just as 'towns', but also as settlements. An 8th-century poem known as 'The Ruin' describes the ruins of a Roman town (presumed to be Bath), but the past is viewed with admiration, rather than loss:

> *Wondrous is this stone-wall, wrecked by fate;*
> *The city-buildings crumble, the works of the giants decay.*
> *Roofs have caved in, towers collapsed,*
> *Barred gates are broken, hoar frost clings to mortar, houses are gaping, tottering and fallen...*

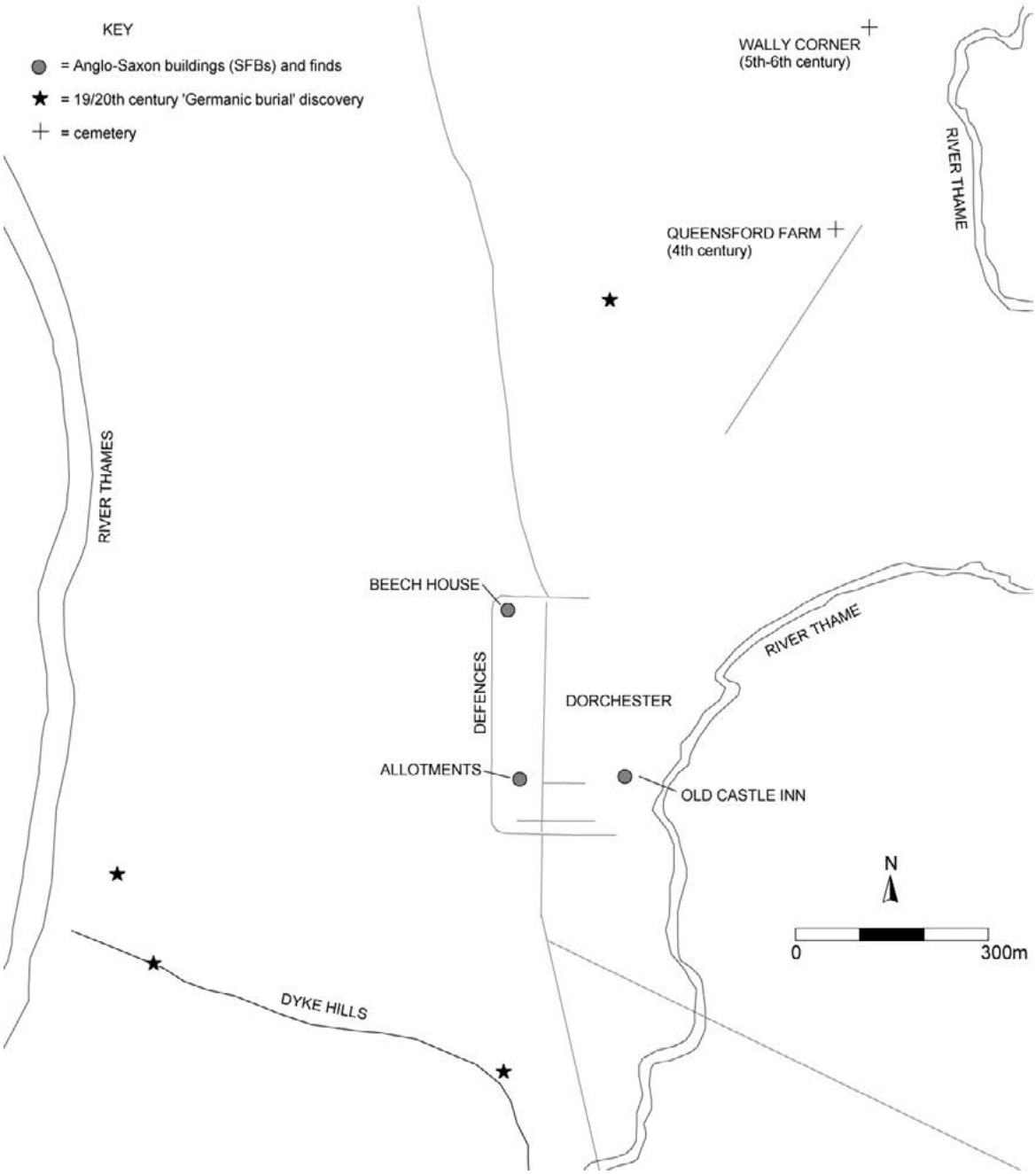


Figure 83: 5th and 6th-century settlement and burial evidence at Dorchester-on-Thames (drawn by author, updated from Bradley 1978: 18; Burnham and Wacher 1990: 120; Harman *et al*. 1978:2; Rowley and Brown 1981: 2)

> *...a hundred generations have passed away since then...*
> *...their ramparts became abandoned places, the city decayed...*
> *...the place falls to ruin*
>
> excerpts from The Ruin,
> trans. Crossley-Holland 2000: 55-56

Gildas describes a 'massacre' within towns by the Anglo-Saxons, and in the past the archaeological evidence was utilised to fit around this (such as early work on Caistor-by-Norwich – see Darling 1987). In some of these settlement 'failures', occupation actually appears to shift location focus to their immediate environs: for London and Verulamium both were probably influenced by martyrs' shrines, creating a draw for a new settlement focus; while other settlements (Caistor-by-Norwich, Cirencester, Dorchester (Dorset), Lincoln, and York) shifted for less certain reasons. Noticeably failures (and shifts) occurred in all areas of Britain, not just in eastern zones on account of earlier and denser Anglo-Saxon intrusion and contact.

Londinium was virtually deserted by the early part of the 5th century (Section 3.2), with revised settlement focus emerging c.1km west, in the area that became Anglo-Saxon Lundenwic. Excavations at St. Martin-in-the-Fields have revealed structures of AD 400-450, and continued

burials throughout the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries (Telfer 2008: 257). The excavators propose that this was '…a late Roman sacred site or small settlement on the site, which the Anglo-Saxon population appears to have respected and continued to use as a religious place' (Telfer 2008: 346). There may have been more practical reasons, namely a shift to a better positioned riverside location for trade, away from the silted-up and walled-in Roman port. At Verulamium there is a longer continuity of Roman-style activity within the town, though a new focus grew outside of the town, on a hill to the south-east, around the Shrine of St. Albans (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2001: 55). The cult of St. Alban is recorded as a stopover for a visiting bishop from Gaul (St. Germanus) in AD 429, and again a few years later (Thompson 1984: 10). A continental parallel for an urban refocus is the shrine of St. Martin at Tours in Gaul (Nicholas 1997: 27-9).

Similar shifting settlements include Cirencester, Dorchester, Lincoln, York, and Caistor-by-Norwich. Cirencester perhaps saw nucleation within the amphitheatre (Section 4.2), while at Dorchester (Dorset) 5th and 6th century settlement activity is indicated in the area of a late Roman cemetery, and in another extra-mural area (White 2007: 191); at York in the 5th and 6th centuries settlement appears to have shifted to the east, close to the present University of York (Spall and Toop 2008); and at Lincoln, the lack of settlement activity suggests some relocation somewhere along the River Witham (Vince 2003: 143). At Caistor-by-Norwich Anglo-Saxon structures (Bescoby and Bowden 2013), along with middle Saxon coins and metalwork (Pestell 2003: 122) to the west of the walled town close to the River Tas, together with two early Saxon cemeteries close-by (Myres and Green 1973), point to a shifted riverside settlement, seemingly largely ignoring the intra-mural space of the former Roman town. Yet the 11th century church of St. Edmund in the south-east corner 'points to occupation that continued later still' (Bowden and Bescoby 2008: 333).

Thus, even the apparently abandoned towns still had some form of settlement continuity, albeit a shifted one close to the former Roman towns. The changes were all seemingly due to practical reasons, mainly to better positioned riverside locations for trade, or to more easily defended areas. This is somewhat of a paradox – either open and less defensible or more protected. Perhaps some groups were 'clinging' to the past, and others were controlling the present.

7.5 Identifying the People of the 5th and 6th Centuries AD

An important question relates to who populated these sub/post-Roman spaces. Were they ongoing generations of town dwellers who still viewed themselves as Romano-British? Or perhaps new power groups maintaining a vestige of Roman control? Do new forms of housing (SFBs / *Grubenhäuser*) denote new people – actual Germanic immigrants (Angles, Saxons, Jutes, etc) – or 'natives' adopting a new building style? Both buildings and pottery are different, but we have little idea of how far they represent different people. Whoever it is, the evidence suggests that towns did have a role to play in attracting people in; but we can only guess at how these groups viewed the evident, remnant traces of Roman towns and edifices. It is important here to try to identify and question the people leaving such traces.

The 'Blank Generation' – Found?

A key problem of actually identifying the people (and their settlements) of AD 410-450 relates to difficulties in closely dating the material culture (see Section 1.4), as this time frame forms a transition from Roman to Saxon (what we term the end of the Roman period and before the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon period). The appearance of 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture in Britain is traditionally placed to after AD 450, where chronologies are offered purely on unreliable and restricted written sources (as discussed in Section 1.4). Pottery forms are significantly different from the latest Roman material, shifting from large-scale wheel-thrown industries to regional or localised hand-made vessels (Kennett 1978: 12; Leahy 2007), then with little discernible change in pottery style and manufacture until the 7th century (Vince 2005: 228). The people living prior to the appearance of the new material culture are almost entirely archaeologically invisible, and have been termed the 'blank generation' (Cooper 1996: 85) because of the lack of associated artefacts. This absence of evidence is presumed by some to be evidence of absence (Faulkner 2004) – supporting a view of an ethnic cleansing of Anglo-Saxons on the native British population – but others argue that the period is largely aceramic (with people instead using wooden objects, as seen in early medieval Ireland). A far more logical view is that only now is the material evidence starting (slowly) to be recognised, allowing us to start to bridge this seeming artefactual gap (Speed 2010).

Since few new coins entered Britain after AD 402, it is possible (though some would argue unlikely – Reece 2002: 63- 66) that there was sufficient coinage in circulation for the population to use after this date, or it was not needed to pay mercenaries. Studies of wear on coins indicate use until *c.*420-430 for northern towns and forts (see Brickstock 2000: 33-38, and 2010); and for Silchester (see Besley 2006: 83). Perhaps the population continued to use Roman small change with an increasing barter system re-emerging. The lack of the cash economy saw the collapse of the pottery industry, though there are some indications of small-scale pottery production persisting in some zones in the 5th century (such as in Yorkshire – Monaghan 1997: 341; and Dorset – Gerrard 2004: 71), perhaps for specific markets. However, in general, large-scale pottery production (and kiln construction) ceased, and the skills of the small number of potters were lost. Vessels will have continued to have been used until they had become broken or worn, at which point they would have been discarded and presumably replaced by more easily produced (but archaeologically less visible) wooden vessels. Fashions

were changing too, and studies have emphasised how new forms of brooches and hair pins, along with reused pottery vessels, point to distinct late / sub-Roman cultural regional styles (Allason-Jones 2010: 78-85; Cool 2000: 54; Swift 2000: 27 – 66).

At present, the best way to demonstrate 5th-century activity is through stratified archaeological deposits above layers containing the latest datable material. At Wroxeter, the long sequence of 5th- and 6th-century structures was dated by such a method, using a combination of coins, wear on surfaces, and magnetic and radiocarbon dating (White 2000: 105). Elsewhere, Roman pottery was seen to be reused at the small towns of Piercebridge and Catterick (Cool and Mason 2008: 310), and it is noticeable that some Saxon burials include sherds or objects of Roman date. Only further recognition and study of these objects, linked to radiocarbon dating on controlled and well-excavated structures and features, will help further reveal these as indicative of a more distinct early 5th-century material culture, and therefore allow us to trace settlement patterns more fully.

Who was Building (and Living in) Sunken Huts and Halls?

'The bulk of the people, we can now be assured, were content with something that hardly deserves a better title than hovel'. This was the view of E.T. Leeds (1947: 21), writing when the only type of Anglo-Saxon house was thought to be a small hut. Thankfully, our understanding of domestic and ancillary housing is now much more advanced. The distinctive new types of rural and urban structures of 5th-century date are timber buildings of two forms: rectangular earth-fast post-hole buildings (sometimes termed 'halls'), accompanied with structures with a sunken or raised floor above a pit (Sunken-Featured Building – SFB – or Grubenhäus, see Figure 84).

Early Anglo-Saxon rectangular earth-fast post-hole structures have been identified since the 1960s (Powlesland 1997: 107), and are thought to be evidence for domestic housing (Dixon 1982: 278). They show variety in length, but the width is rarely over 4.5m (Powlesland 1997: 108). Larger rectangular buildings with floor areas measuring over 100m² have been termed halls (from old English *healles*), which were occupied by a nobleman or family, where important business would take place (Hamerow 2011: 141). Post-built structures with beam-slots are seen as later in date (mid- Anglo-Saxon onwards – Powlesland 1997: 107).

Often clustered close to the rectangular houses are the smaller SFBs (this patterning is notably seen at Mucking and West Stow). Many SFBs have been excavated across the country, the earliest examples identified at Sutton Courtenay in the 1920s (Leeds 1947). The most famous, particularly well excavated, early Anglo-Saxon-period settlements include West Stow in Suffolk (West 1985), Mucking in Essex (Hamerow 1993), and West Heslerton in North Yorkshire (Tipper 2004: 54-55). Despite the SFB being the most common structure associated with early Anglo-Saxon settlement, its form, function, and date (and even name!) remain an issue of major debate despite regular re-assessments (see Radford 1958: 27; Addyman 1972; Rahtz 1976; Dixon 1982; Powlesland 1997; Tipper 2004: 160; Hamerow 2011: 128). The basic form of SFB timber structures consists of a shallow pit with post-holes around the edge, they vary in size and form (from 2 x 2m to over 8 x 5m – Powlesland 1997: 105). The earliest examples of the 5th century are generally smaller with two posts; the larger forms are typically of later 7th or 8th century in date (Tipper 2004: 11). They may have had sunken (Hamerow 2011) or raised floors (West 1986). The interpretation of SFBs is key here. Initially these were seen as housing (Leeds 1947; Radford 1958), crudely built and tent-like. However, the modern consensus is that they were solid, ancillary structures with a range of functions including grain storage, craft working, or livestock stalling (Welch 1992: 26-39; Tipper 2004: 160-185). If the SFBs are ancillary buildings then at Canterbury, Colchester, and Leicester we are mainly seeing the ancillary structures, and not the actual housing.

Figure 84: Reconstruction of an 'Anglo-Saxon' SFB (left) and a post-hole timber-framed building (right) at West Stow, Suffolk (photos by author)

The two structural types may have not been always so clear-cut. Hybrid buildings containing attributes of both earth-fast and sunken timber buildings have been located at Leicester. The first such hybrid form was discovered at Bonner's Lane (Finn 2004: 15), and another similar hybrid example subsequently located close by at DeMontfort (Morris 2010: 47). A similar structure has been excavated at Flixton, Suffolk (S. Boulter, *pers. comm.*). In another variant, the SFBs may have formed part of a larger rectangular building, as claimed at Dunstable, Bedfordshire (Addyman 1972: 281). These hybrid forms show that the archaeologist's strict definition of the two Anglo-Saxon building forms is in need of some re-evaluation.

The dating for the structures has likewise generally been tied to a loose historical framework of Anglo-Saxon migration in the early 5th century AD: at West Stow the earliest occupation is dated to around AD 400 (West 1985), and at Dorchester-on-Thames an even earlier (4th-century) date was originally proposed (Frere 1966: 89). As noted there are many problems with dating Anglo-Saxon settlements and features, and therefore the archaeological evidence must be used with caution and not be too heavily influenced by historical events that lack secure controls. Indeed, often, these structures can only be dated from material filling the SFB pit, and a recent study by Tipper emphasises the importance of recognising the presence of residual and post-depositional material within SFBs (2004: 113).

The transition from Roman-style housing to the 'Saxon house' (Radford 1958) is at first impression quite striking and divisive. However, it need not be seen in this way. Sunken-floored structures occur in various forms in the later Roman period (Dixon 1982: 279; Dark 2000: 67; Tipper 2004: 7-9; Clarke 2010), although the 'Anglo-Saxon' SFBs (or *Grubenhäuser*) remain a distinct type in Britain and not seen prior to the 5th century (Tipper 2004: 9). Earth-fast post-hole timber structures are presumed to be Anglo-Saxon – i.e. the new migrant peoples bring with them their style of housing (Radford 1958 compared continental examples). However, it is important to question 'how Saxon is the Saxon house?' (Dixon 1982). Unlike the SFB, the post-hole timber structures are not directly found on the continent, being much smaller than the three-aisled longhouse or byre-houses seen in north Germany and Denmark, which served various purposes for living, craft work, and keeping cattle (Welch 1992: 36). The difference could simply be due to the different environment (being much milder and wetter in Britain), with livestock kept outside (Addyman 1972: 279). However, as seen in Chapter 6, the proportion of rectangular timber housing in towns was arguably already increasing in the later 4th century and so these 'Saxon' rectangular timber houses may not have been that different (or indeed were almost the same) to what many of the resident populations of 5th-century Britain were already living in. Perhaps the Germanic migrants were influenced by the native British-style of housing, resulting in a hybrid Romano-Saxon building, rather than a purely Anglo-Saxon construction. The same applies to the material found associated with these structures – namely pottery. We need to remember that the material culture found in excavations and labelled as 'Anglo-Saxon' was most likely used by everyone – native and new peoples; after all, the only available pots from the local market place may have only been these locally produced, rough handmade wares.

Defining the People(s)

The above discussions point to a hugely changing society, and one that was becoming regionally fragmented. But who were the people of the 5th and 6th centuries, and how should we define them? The traditional view of Germanic migration of 'Anglo-Saxons'– based on written sources of Gildas, Bede, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, see Section 1.4), is of a mass invasion from the Continent and large-scale replacement of the indigenous population of Britain progressing from east to west (Alcock 1987; Leeds 1947; Stenton 1943). A racial and cultural divide between eastern and western England remains central to some studies on this period (see detailed debate in Arnold 1996: 19-32 and papers in Higham 2007). Härke believes the current trend by scholars to play down migration underestimates the scale of events, preferring to view large-scale immigration of Anglo-Saxons, and an ethnic cleansing of native British (2004, 2007). There may have been violent and brutal conflicts between 'Saxons' and Britons (later sources show this), and this may explain a dislike, and therefore lack of cultural exchange. Indeed, in later records the Anglo-Saxons define themselves as different from the resident population of Britain whom they termed as '*wealas*' (Welsh), meaning foreigner and/or slave (Ward-Perkins 2000: 514).

The Anglo-Saxons consisted of (famously) Angles, Saxons, and Jutes from northern Germany. But people from other Germanic areas are also thought to have migrated into Britain, including Irish, Franks, Frisians and Norwegians (Yorke 2003: 387), as Bede alludes to:

> *in Germania plurimas noverat esse nations, a quibus Angli vel Saxones, qui nunc Britanniam incolunt, genus et originem duxisse noscuntur*
> (He knew that there were very many peoples in Germany from whom the Angles and Saxons, who now live in Britain, derive their descent and origin)
>
> Bede V:ix

The resident population of Britain in c.AD 300 is thought to be 3.6 million (Section 6.5), and perhaps numbers had dropped to *c.*1.5 to 2 million (following military withdrawals, officials and other specialist workers may have relocated elsewhere). This would equate to very low population levels *c.*AD 400 within towns (perhaps a total of 15,000 - 20,000 people spread over 20-40 large and small towns). We cannot be certain over how many people came over from the continent, despite recent DNA and molecular studies (Weale *et al*. 2002; Hedges 2011). One DNA study argues that 6.2% of the British population

consisted of immigrants from AD 430-730 (Pattison 2008: 2427), which equates to c.175,000 people over 300 years, or *c.*580 immigrants per year (*ibid*: 2428). Interestingly, the same study notes a very similar immigrant population (6.8%) throughout the Roman period. This illustrates well the multi-cultural population already resident in Britain by the beginning of the 5th century, not just after the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons.

Indeed, these new immigrant numbers correspond well with recent studies that view a model of elite replacement – the migration and prominence of a small group who achieved political and military control (Higham 1992; Hines 1996). The 'Anglo-Saxonization' could therefore be seen as a choice by the native Britons to take on a new social identity. This choice was probably due to the perceived status of the Anglo-Saxon culture over that of the Britons. The way to legitimise power and control may have been through emulating the Roman past (control of former urban places), but had fairly swiftly been replaced by more portable forms of power (personal dress – jewellery / weaponry – and burials). Some even attempt to use DNA evidence to show an apartheid-like social structure between Anglo-Saxons and Britons (Thomas *et al.* 2006), while others dismiss such, mainly theoretical, work (Pattison 2008). Indeed, the divide between 'Briton' and 'Saxon' may be less pronounced than we think, as at Wasperton (Warwickshire), radiocarbon dating has shown continued use and an overlap of burials from what we define as Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon (Carver *et al.* 2009; see also Lucy 2000). While at Dorchester-on-Thames, two close cemeteries (one with late Roman burials, the other early Anglo-Saxon) have also been radiocarbon-dated showing a slight overlap of use in the early 5th century (Hills and O'Connell 2009).

It is striking that the 'Anglo-Saxons' took in virtually nothing of the native culture (they did not speak Latin and remained pagan until the 7th century). This pattern of invader almost entirely replacing the invaded social and cultural landscape is not seen in neighbouring Gaul, where (see Section 6.6) towns and churches persisted (along with Latin), despite the invading Franks being similar to the Anglo-Saxons (non-urban and pagan). Even in western Britain where a sub-Roman society persisted longer than eastern England, this too became 'Anglo-Saxonized' fairly quickly (perhaps by the late 6th century), despite not perceived as being swamped by incoming invaders. Given the probable low numbers of invaders, the influence of the indigenous British population on what we term 'Anglo-Saxon' should not be underestimated, but we have tended to give prominence to the new cultural expressions, chiefly amongst elites. This is evidenced through the different types of Anglo-Saxon material evidence visible in different regions of Britain, and probably reflects a stronger British influence on buildings (Hamerow 2011), burial customs (Dickinson 2011), and metalwork (Dickinson 1993; Laing 2007).

In contrast, lower down the social ladder there may have been little real change for the majority of the population. Studies on rural landscapes across 5th- and 6th-century Britain (and post-Roman North-Western Europe in general) show evidence for continued field boundaries, although land use may have been switching to more mixed animal husbandry, and diverse forms of farming being undertaken to suit local needs (Lewit 2009: 77). Nor do we see a sudden woodland regeneration in the 5th century (Higham 1992: 78). Therefore, it seems that the same sort of people were continuing to live in and work the land, if working for new leaders/local elites. Perhaps people were more concerned with what tribe, *civitas*, or kingdom they belonged to, rather than whether they had British or Anglo-Saxon ancestry.

7.6 Re-emergences beyond AD 600

By AD 600 seven larger kingdoms had begun to form – known as the Heptarchy, consisting of Wessex, East Anglia, Mercia, Northumbria, Kent, Sussex, and Essex (see Yorke 1997; 2006). In western Britain the larger 'British' kingdoms consisted of Gwynedd, Powys, Dyfed, and Dumnonia. Figure 85 shows the broad locations of these kingdoms, but their borders are uncertain and likely varied and changed over time. Along with these large kingdoms there were probably more numerous, smaller, sub-kingdoms. The arrival of St. Augustine in AD 597 to convert pagan Anglo-Saxon Britain to Christianity (Bede I: xxii), bought the Anglo-Saxons into much closer contact with the wider remnant Roman world, significantly changing Eastern Britain. Certain areas (such as Kent) already had close connections with Frankish Gaul, and the relatively quick acceptance and conversion by Anglo-Saxon kings (all had been converted by *c.*686 – Pryce 2009: 149), may denote recognition of how the Church could legitimise power and control.

The Christian Church was organised around bishops established in the major urban centres that oversaw the civitates regions. This system worked well in other areas of the former Empire where more Roman institutions survived in the 5th and 6th centuries (such as Gaul, Spain, and Italy), but they worked less well in areas such as Britain, where such survivals were not prominent. The intention of the pope – Gregory the Great – will have been to construct an Episcopal system based on the former administration of Britain: a bishop based at each of the four late Roman provincial capitals (Figure 72). Instead, dioceses had to be created around the kingdoms, many with limited urban communities (Pickles 2009: 166). But former Roman centres – forts or towns – were sought out. Thus, the first was founded by Augustine at Canterbury in AD 597, likely capital for the kingdom of Kent (Section 3.5); London (capital of the kingdom of the East Saxons) and Rochester had bishops established in AD 604 (Bede II: iii); York was established in AD 627 (Willey 1999); Dorchester-on-Thames in AD 635 (Morrison 2009: 51); Winchester in AD 648 (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007: 192); and Leicester in the AD 670s (Courtney 1998: 110). A bishop was established at Worcester in AD 680, in preference to nearby Gloucester (Baker 1990).

Was this strategy dictated by a desire to use old Roman sites or to be where population foci were or where power was centred? As we have seen in this chapter, some towns were still foci of settlement (if not fully urban spaces themselves), throughout the 5th and 6th centuries, and therefore the choice to place bishops within an existing population would seem logical. Bede describes both Canterbury and London as a 'metropolis' (I: xxv) – thought to mean 'capital' and a centre of authority (Wallace-Hadrill 1988: 35). Perhaps they were sited in a few towns because these were royal centres – a view long held for Winchester (see Section 4.3). Since Anglo-Saxon kings gave land to the Church (Yorke 1990: 174), so another view is that these former Roman towns were royal property, but unused and unvalued land, and thus readily available to the Church. It is also possible that some towns retained older churches (and remained as a centre of Christianity), as suggested for Dorchester (Henig and Booth 2000: 187-192). Some, however, remain sceptical of this view (e.g. Loseby 2000: 362). Whatever the reasoning, the new presence of the Church – linked to the emerging kingdoms – ultimately played a part in the re-emergence of towns as foci for trade and population centres from the 7th century onwards, bringing the Anglo-Saxon world into strong contact with the legacy of the Roman past.

7.7 Summary: What Role for 'Towns' in a Ruralised Society?

In summary, this chapter has demonstrated that it is important not to bypass the traces of life within towns in the 5th and 6th centuries AD, as by identifying such evidence we may further our (already limited) understanding of trajectories of early post-Empire society. Even if Gildas' comment that towns were not occupied 'as once they were' holds true, some former Roman towns remained as settlements. Such continuity was not limited to just one area of Britain; even place names give support to this (Rivet and Smith 1979). However, we can see some localised patterns emerging: in certain areas there was a persistence in continuing to live in buildings that were similar in form to the Roman past, and utilise similar material culture (more so in western Britain). However, as Anglo-Saxon culture begun to dominate, older ways of living were replaced, new material culture was introduced, and building forms evolved.

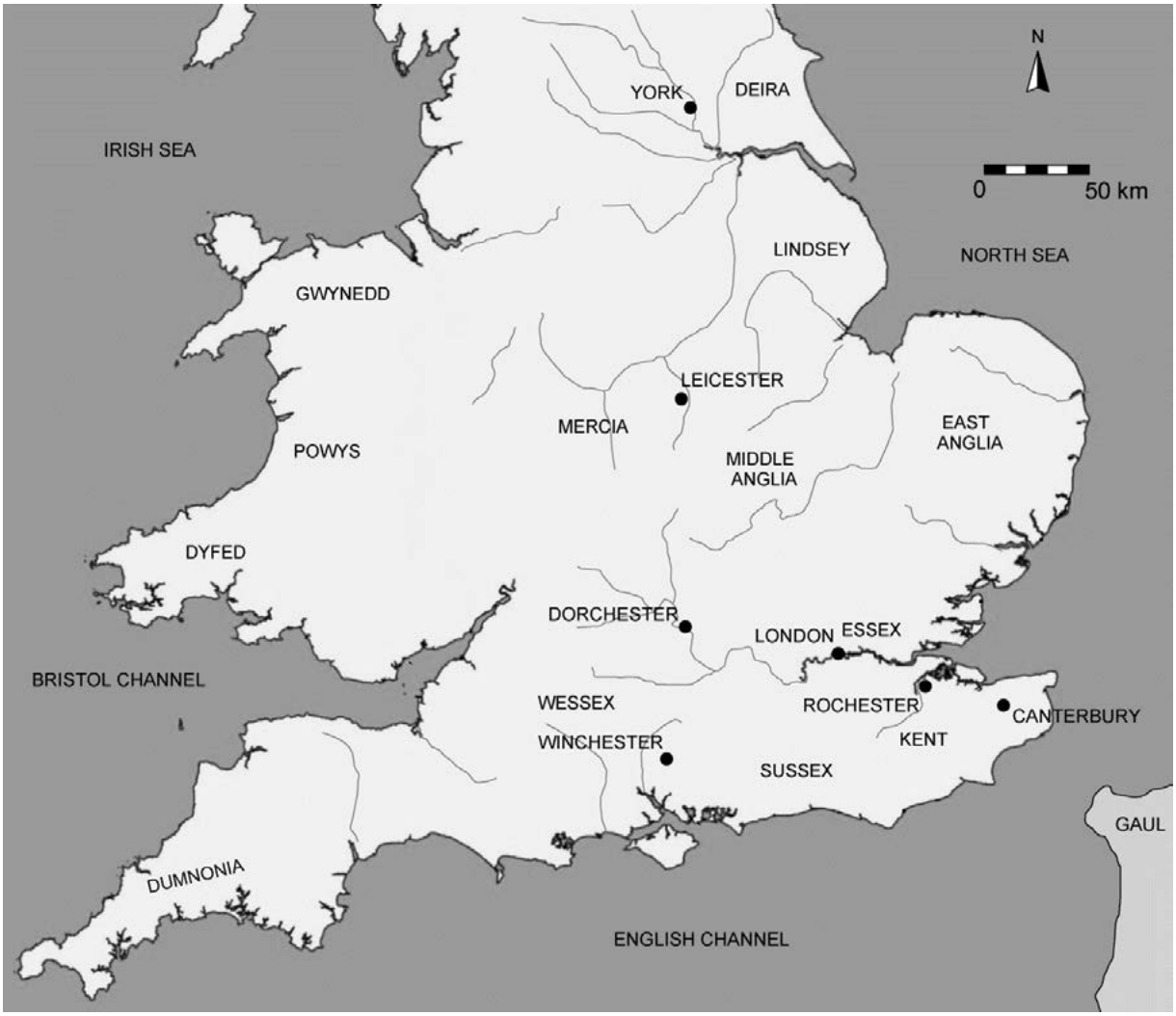


Figure 85: Known kingdoms in south Britain *c.* AD 600. It is probable that many more smaller sub-kingdoms existed that we know nothing about. Former Roman towns with early bishops are shown as black dots (drawn by author, after Campbell *et al.* 1982: 52)

Arguably, Roman towns had already begun to fail (in an economic sense) by the mid-4th century, and by the time of the official withdrawal of imperial authority at the beginning of the 5th century, most had lost their role as a central place. The Germanic migrants of the early to mid-5th century did not cause urban failure; rather it had already occurred. They were not presented with a functioning urban legacy – in contrast with towns in Gaul (Ward-Perkins 2000: 519), as these were still active and with the Church prominent when the Franks invaded. Also, even though the Anglo-Saxons were very much an agrarian, and small-scale society with little 'big politics', and '...did not need towns' (Mattingly 2006: 350), some life within former towns is evident, showing that some people chose to continue to live in them (or move to them), and to utilise the once urban-space as a form of control and power. What we cannot determine is how this residual urbanism functioned – how the new elites viewed themselves and their towns and walls. Was this 'clinging on' for the sake of 'clinging on'?

The continued (or reuse) of former Roman spaces was not limited to the major towns. Across Britain some smaller towns, rural settlements, and military forts show differing patterns of settlement continuity and / or failure. Studies in northern Britain are beginning to note patterns of use and disuse to suggest settlement models, and offer a very useful comparison to towns in southern/central Britain. O'Brien shows that the eastern-half of Hadrian's Wall shows good structural evidence for continued 5th-century activity, whereas there is a virtual absence north of the Wall and in coastal areas (1999: 113). The preferred choice to occupy the wall forts rather than more rural or remote areas is a matter of major debate. At the fort of Birdoswald a large hall building of Roman-style construction (stone footings and timber superstructure) was constructed within the ruins of a granary in the 5th century. Based on this, Wilmott claims that those who controlled the forts (former Roman military) continued to collect taxes to maintain their section of the Wall, and may have subsequently become autonomous after AD 410 (1997: 228). Alternatively, Dark prefers to see new people coming into these forts and utilising them as powerbases (2000: 198-199); he bases this argument on the reuse of the structure indicating different people. However, this view is flawed, as there is no evidence for abandonment, and the granary was already being used for different purposes in the later 4th century (Wilmott 1997: 14, 223). The evidence therefore fits better with a transition and transformation model, rather than an abandonment and reoccupation model. Collins has advanced the argument by looking more broadly at all forts in the region. He stresses that the wall forts were utilised by former military personnel, who began to emerge as elite warbands in the 5th century (2007: 158, 2011). These former Roman forts thus may have lost their original roles, but some were continually occupied and utilised by emerging kingships.

Likewise, the role of towns as economic entities may have long since become defunct, their role changing from a state-controlled space, to a 'people's place', a focus of population. There must have been some value for people to continue to live in these former urban spaces, probably for a variety of reasons. Some may have had a residual administrative role as a control centre for local elites, others may had ecclesiastical roles, while a few seem more 'organic' settlements without a clear hierarchy (there are few obvious central hall structures that could belong to a leader, like that seen at Birdoswald – see Wilmott 1997: 202-232 – or Wroxeter – see Barker *et al*. 1997). Perhaps the settlement 'role' of former Roman towns in the 5th and 6th centuries was that they were simply convenient places to live geographically (i.e. at road or river crossings or easily accessible places to trade). This is the same reason that many of these Roman towns built upon already thriving Iron Age settlements of the later 1st century BC, and that most former Roman towns continued to be places of settlement throughout the medieval period, and continue into the modern towns and cities of the 21st century.

Arguably, definitions are awkward and we must be cautious in assigning primary roles to these. All may have been a 'life within the ruins', but the settlements themselves could have been similar to the (archaeologically more visible) contemporary larger rural settlements, being places that were well organised, maintained, and structured, even conceivably places of some trade and exchange.

Chapter 8:

Stepping out from the Dark: Conclusions and Directions

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this research has been to assess the patterns and themes of transformation in the major Roman towns in Britain from AD 300 to 600. Exploiting and interrogating a select, representative, and reliable set of archaeological case studies, has provided a (consistent) cross-section of site types and evidence forms across three geographical zones of central and southern England. Within three regions (the South-East, South-West, and Midlands), three separate major Roman towns were chosen to illustrate the differing urban fortunes and archaeologies.

This concluding chapter reviews the key findings, and evaluates and debates the trajectories proposed in Chapters 6 and 7 which aimed to offer more refined models of urban evolution. The notable achievements this work has produced are outlined, followed by a summary of the remaining gaps and issues. Future research directions and possibilities are then offered.

8.2 Defining Urban Transformations: AD 300 - 600

This research has revealed broad urban typological groups across AD 300-600 (summarised in Figure 86). As with urban centres past and present, Roman towns went through cycles of growth, stability, but also reduction throughout the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd centuries. It is the 4th century that arguably sees these patterns heightened and a new 'late Romano-British urbanism' start to emerge (Section 6.2). After AD 350, while some towns show some stability, more show (signs of) a contraction of settlement size and, therefore, population. However, the watershed really comes after the formal end of Roman control in the early 5th century, when Roman urban society and economics seemingly collapse. Yet in numerous towns life persisted, albeit with their character and form transformed, becoming either a reduced sub-Roman urbanism, rural settlement with an 'Anglo-Saxon character', or a rural shifted settlement; in some cases, however, we observe settlement failure.

Looking beyond the case studies used in this research to all the major towns and larger small towns in Roman Britain, 28 of 31 have sufficient evidence to draw upon to determine settlement survival or loss (Figure 88). For the mid-5th century (Figure 89), 18 towns show evidence for continued settlement, either with Anglo-Saxon or sub-Roman archaeological traces, while five shift their settlement foci to the immediate environs (close to the former Roman town), and five appear to fail. Perhaps unsurprisingly, most settlement continuity with an Anglo-Saxon character occurs in Eastern and Central England. Sub-Roman settlement is focused on western Britain, though notable exceptions are at Verulamium and Silchester in the South-East. Towns with failure and shift appear in all regions: Cirencester in the South-West, London in the South-East, Lincoln in the Midlands, and York in the North. Towns featuring complete settlement failure are in the South-West (Caerwent, Gloucester, Ilchester) and North (Carlisle, Corbridge), both areas with limited Roman-period urbanism. By the end of the 6th century the picture that emerges is an increasing dominance of Anglo-Saxon settlement forms and material culture (Figure 89). No towns with earlier Sub-Roman evidence show continued settlement of this character, with these settlements instead either failing or becoming 'Anglo-Saxonised'. In total, the predominance of urban survival lies in former towns in Eastern and Central England.

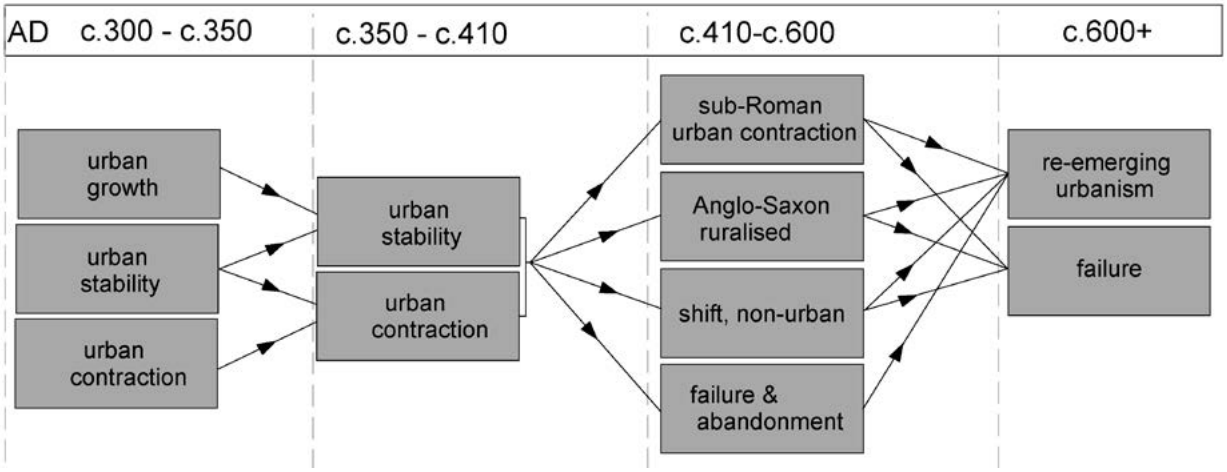


FIGURE 86: SUMMARISED SETTLEMENT FORMS IN ROMAN TOWNS FROM AD 300 TO 600

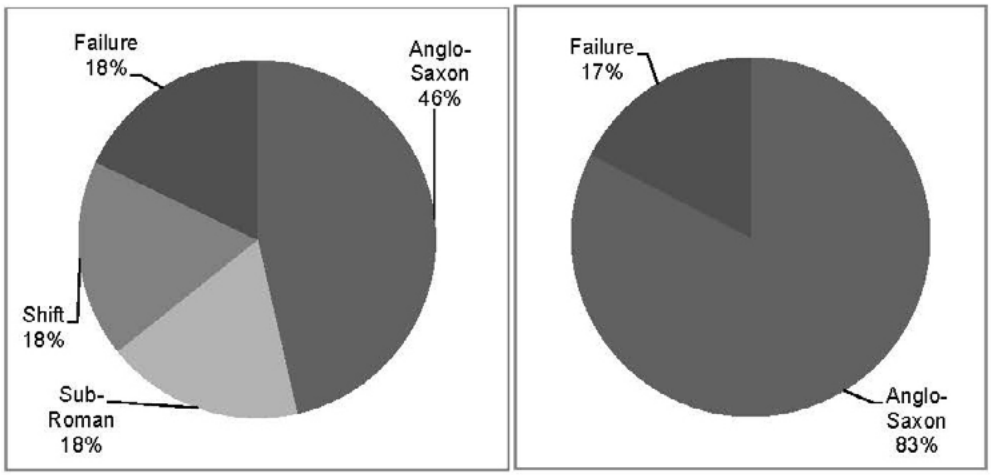


Figure 87: Nature of 5th- and 6th- century settlement within former Roman towns, in AD 450 (left, 28 towns) and AD 600 (right, 23 towns)

8.3 Debating Urban Transformations: East and West, Worlds Together or Worlds Apart?

The traditional view of a collapse of Roman control and way of life in the early 5th century, followed by groups of Germanic peoples migrating into Eastern England, has been proven massively simplistic (see Esmonde Cleary 1989; Jones 1998; Dark 2000). However, the basic presumption of two culturally distinct zones in the east and west in *c.* AD 500-550 still predominates in the archaeological record (Figure 90). In eastern England there are mainly what are termed Anglo-Saxon settlements, as defined by house types, material culture, and cremation and inhumation cemeteries that have origins in northern Europe (for burial data see Dark 2000: 76; brooch distributions see Welch 1992: 113-115). Conversely, western Britain features Sub-Roman or 'British' settlements, defined by Roman-style housing, and Romanised material culture and burial customs (Dark 2000: 105-149; White 2007). This was certainly not a clear-cut east-west divide, and across the whole of Britain there was most likely a mass fragmentation of control and authority, with cultural influences from both the residual Romano-British population, and increasingly from the newer Germanic groups / Anglo-Saxon peoples.

As this research has shown, not all Roman towns suffered comparable fates in the 5th century. So, what do these varying patterns of settlement survival or loss actually mean? How do these fit into wider cultural transformations in 5th- and 6th-century Britain? Comparing contemporary life within a town in the east (Canterbury) with one in the west (Wroxeter) helps illustrate these radically differing post-Roman 'urbanisms' and evolving cultural landscapes.

Canterbury and Wroxeter lie approximately 185 miles (300km) apart, and in the Roman period both were major urban centres sharing similar characteristics and monument types and private buildings. From the later 4th century, each appears much reduced and with contracted spatial settlement, including few large private buildings and the loss of some public services. Yet, after AD 410, the two settlements show notably diverse trajectories, and the archaeological sequences in both point to settlements and societies that were worlds apart.

At Canterbury, it is uncertain whether the town was depopulated and abandoned before clear settlement traces re-emerge in the mid 5th-century (Brooks 1988: 99; Blockley *et al*. 1995: 270), or else there was a continuity of settlement (Bennett *et al*. 2003: 190). Its geographical location meant that Canterbury saw some of the earliest Anglo-Saxon activity within Britain: by AD 450 people were living in small timber structures interspersed amongst ruinous masonry buildings – a vivid and dramatic image of post-Empire Britain. While some use of the existing major routes through the former town is evident, otherwise there was a disregard to former Roman practices, notably with burials set inside the walls, close to the forum (Bennett 1980; Hicks and Houliston 2003: 6). Yet this is no village community; rather, like Mucking (Hamerow 1993), it was a thriving and successful (i.e. lasting) settlement, with some order to it combining living and working space.

Wroxeter, by contrast, retained a function as a market centre into the 5th century, and later the urban core was massively redeveloped, presumably under the impetus of a local leader. This redevelopment consisted of construction of numerous timber structures – including a large two-storey building. The crucial difference to Canterbury is that these were built mainly to 'Roman' measurements and style (Barker *et al*. 1997). Together with streets and drainage maintained, this would have been visibly far more 'Roman' in character than contemporary Canterbury. The evidence also points to a fairly sizeable population living within Wroxeter's central core. The imposing two-storey building may be an attempt to control the local populace by expressing Romanitas through living in a building ostensibly Roman in style, and in a prominent location.

FIGURE 88: OVERALL URBAN TRAJECTORIES IN THE MID-5TH CENTURY AD

FIGURE 89: OVERALL URBAN TRAJECTORIES BY AD 600

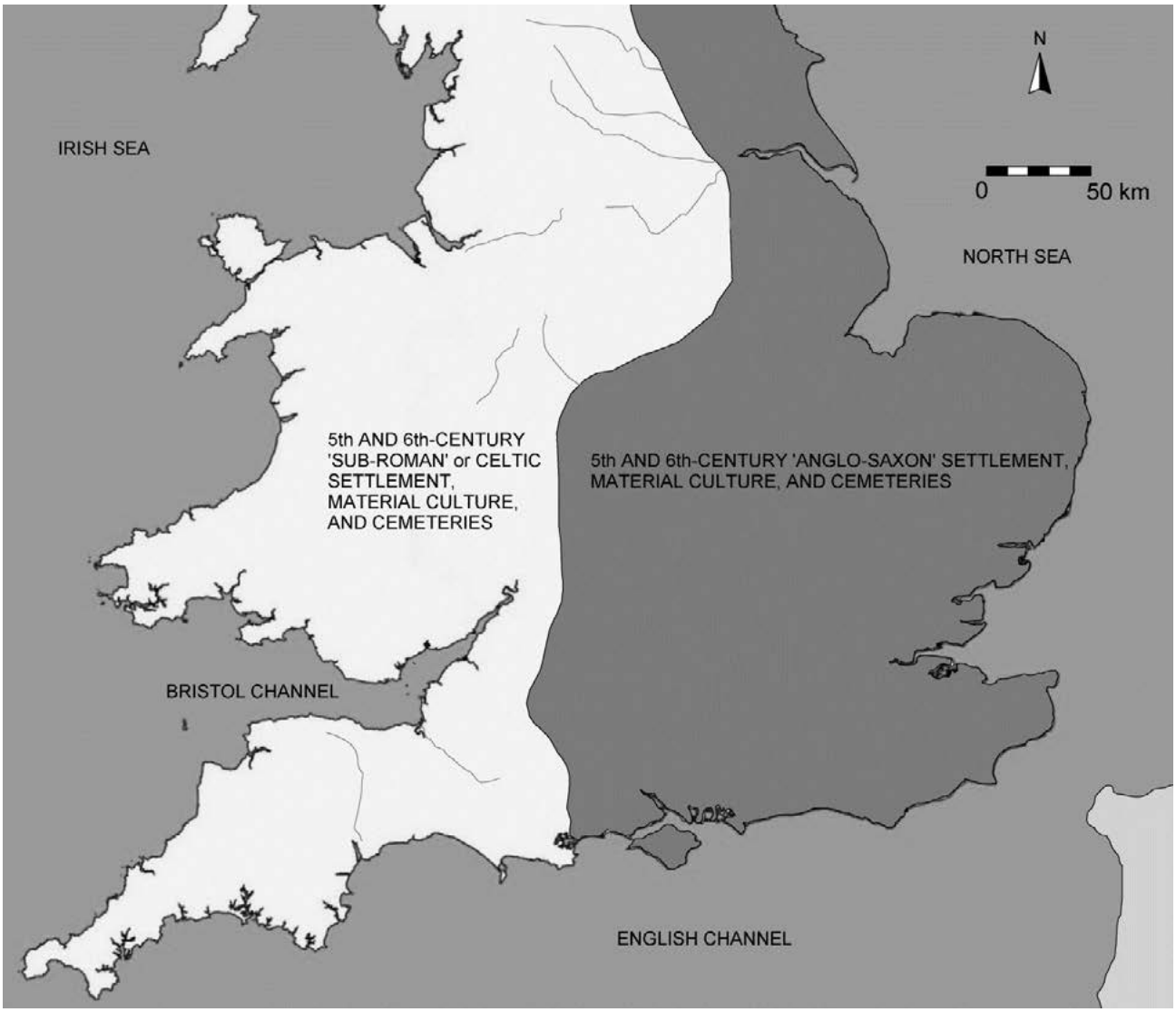


Figure 90: A cultural and ethnic divide in 5th- and 6th-century Britain?

However, by *c.* AD 600, the images of survival at both these centres had altered. At Canterbury settlement became more developed, with more regularly spaced and organised housing (Blockley *et al.* 1995: 310); it was by then the likely capital of the emergent kingdom of Kent (Welch 2007: 189). The population had strong continental contacts, and was clearly in a politically and economically strong position; it was chosen by Pope Gregory the Great as an operations focus to start to convert Anglo-Saxon Britain to Christianity (Bede I: xxii), with an abbey built just outside of the town walls (Brooks 1984: 17). Around the same time in Wroxeter the large Roman-style building was demolished (Barker *et al.* 1997: 238), and the entire settlement appears to have been completely abandoned. Was this down to the loss of an individual leader, or did the settlement fail because it lay in a peripheral location between larger political zones – the Welsh kingdoms to the west and emergent Mercia to the east – and so became marginalised in importance (Barker *et al.* 1997: 244). The emergence of Shrewsbury as an ecclesiastical (and political) centre from the 7th century (Baker 2010: 87-88) surely played some role in old Wroxeter's failure to survive.

These alternative settlement sequences usefully demonstrate the regionalised and fragmented society in the 5th and 6th centuries AD. It must of course be stated that not all towns in the east followed Canterbury's sequence (notably Verulamium and Silchester which saw evidence for Sub-Roman continuity similar to Wroxeter), nor did all towns in the central-west follow Wroxeter's sequence (e.g. Leicester, which while positioned well away from the east coast, has early Anglo-Saxon settlement). Crucially, both former Roman towns continued to be lived in and utilised by people in the 5th and 6th centuries AD. But the character of the two settlements differed greatly, perhaps reflecting different peoples, or differing levels of contact with newer Germanic groups (or Germanic-influenced). This may have ultimately played a part in the eventual contrasting success or failure of the settlements.

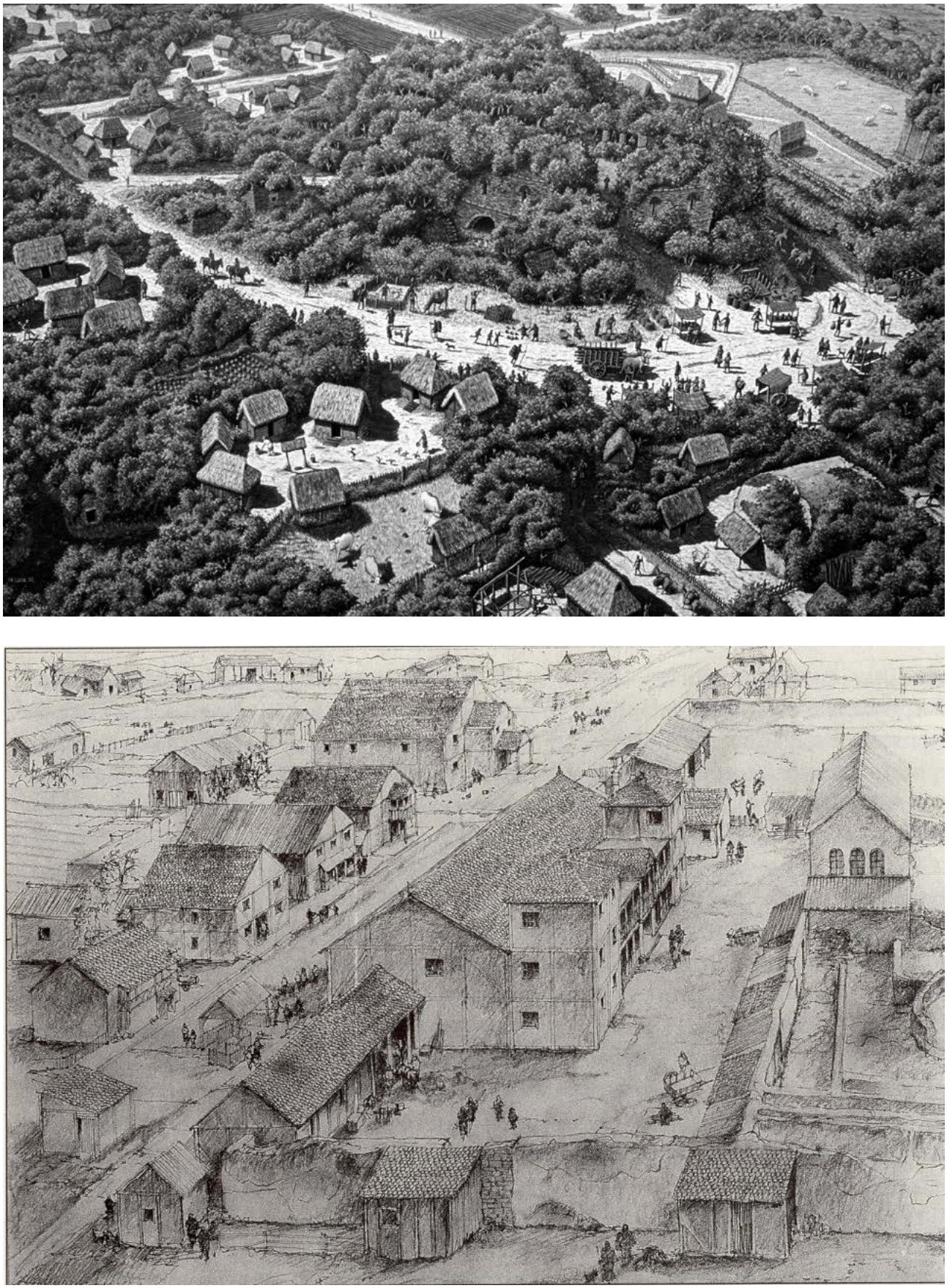


Figure 91: Contemporary settlements, yet worlds apart? Reconstruction views of 5th- to 6th-century Canterbury (top) showing small timber housing scattered amongst ruinous Roman structures (copyright Canterbury Archaeological Trust), contrast greatly with grand (and lesser) timber structures within the former baths-basilica at Wroxeter (bottom) (drawn by Pete Schofield and Heather Bird, copyright English Heritage)

8.4 Research Achievements

Five key achievements derive from this research which I hope will help to re-align studies on late and post-Roman British urbanism:

To question and model urban forms and transformations. In order to advance our knowledge of towns in the 5th and 6th centuries AD, this study has firstly questioned how towns were radically transforming in the 4th century. By doing so it has been possible to frame and more fully explain and model the role and character of these places after AD 410, when they were seemingly of little value to a 'post-Empire' society.

To cut through culturally constructed time periods. Often the 4th to 6th centuries AD are divided up and studied by either 'Romanists' or 'Anglo-Saxonists' (or 'medievalists'), creating segregated sequences of human history, based on modern-day culturally-defined time periods. Crucially this study has spanned the wider timeframe and, by avoiding such divisions it enables us to see more clearly how continuing populations, together with possible new peoples/groups, were transforming the urban landscape around them, and utilising these in different ways.

To re-define archaeologies of urbanism in Britain AD 300-600. Other recent studies on this topic have been very theory-based (Rogers 2008). While theory is important, this study put the archaeological evidence at the forefront of discussions in order to show that there are different types of archaeological signatures in varying parts of Britain across this 300 year period. Only by identifying the types of evidence to look for (be they structures or finds), will we be able to plot, question, and advance our understanding of these.

To highlight the importance of utilising data from commercial archaeology projects. There is a rapidly, and ever-growing resource of unpublished excavation reports and assessments stemming from commercial (developer-funded) archaeology projects, that far outnumber academic research-led work. The quality of recording is consistently high, though the nature of the work often presents limitations (namely financial) not often encountered in academic fieldwork. The archaeological resource is much varied, the quality of each case study being reviewed in each chapter to highlight the varied levels of archaeological coverage (e.g. *c*.14% of intra-mural Leicester has been archaeologically evaluated or excavated, compared to just *c*.1% of Wroxeter). Disseminating results and making the archaeological data available and easily accessible are becoming increasingly more widespread. Combining these data within wider academic studies has been key in this doctoral research.

To offer a field archaeologist's perspective. Having been a 'commercial' archaeologist for over a decade, the author is well aware of the complexities of retrieving and comprehending multifaceted archaeological urban deposits. It simply cannot be learnt and interpreted solely from books. This 'hands-on' experience from an 'invisible digger' (Everill 2009) has enabled the author to knowledgeably analyse other excavation reports and wider syntheses, to offer an informed and fresh perspective. It is accordingly also less theory-laden.

8.5 Remaining Issues

We must readily acknowledge that coverage and interpretation can in no way ever be full or clear. The period remains a challenging one and post-holes, pottery sherds, and demolitions cannot always be deciphered in meaningful fashion. The following gaps or issues persist:

What were the town – rural relationships? How did they change as differences between the two lessened in the 4th century?

What is the actual size of occupation of these settlements in the 4th and 5th centuries? How much do they fluctuate over time? Can this really ever be accurately traced and mapped?

How can we define residual 5th-century Romano-British people?

If we speak of 'Anglo-Saxons', who do we mean? Can we determine new people?

Who controlled or administered the open space, ruins, and access? And what roles (royal, religious, commercial, convenience) did these once-urban places come to serve, and how and when do these spaces alter?

8.6 New Routes, Research, and Directions

This work has attempted to offer an in-depth analysis of towns across a specific time period and region. This depth has only been possible due to an expanding archaeological resource, refinements in dating methods, and new or alternative viewpoints. New data frequently derive from new excavations, and so studies and statements on this period will require regular re-assessment. The following areas have to be constantly enhanced if further research is to be attempted:

A Growing, Accessible Archaeological Resource. The limited textual sources for Britain during this study period means the role of archaeology is crucial. However, the analysis of the various case studies has shown that numerous evidential gaps and weaknesses persist, so how can we plug these? Clearly, without new excavations of adequate scale we cannot hope to advance our understanding properly. Within modern towns and cities we rely on commercial investigations in advance of urban redevelopment. Green-field sites potentially offer far greater opportunities for research driven-work and targeted and more controlled excavations, but require extended finance. Major abandoned towns such as Wroxeter, Silchester, and Caistor-by-Norwich have all each seen recent fieldwork, but plenty of scope exists for further research projects in these towns and their hinterlands. Smaller towns have been less frequently studied, and further fieldwork in these areas would greatly improve the data resource (such as Dorchester). Linked to new fieldwork projects is a

growing improvement in access to the various unpublished resources such as Historical Environment Records, Urban Archaeological Databases (incorporating GIS mapping), and the use of the internet for hosting grey-literature excavation reports (e.g. the ADS OASIS project on: http://oasis.ac.uk/).

Improved Chronologies. Artefact chronologies have been largely suppressed by traditional historical models that have severe limitations. Some current artefact specialists are now looking beyond these academic traditional views and are beginning to show more secure 5th-century settings for some objects and extended longevities (cf. papers in Collins and Allason-Jones 2010 and Wilmott and Wilson 2000). Scientific dating methods are surely a more decisive way forward: radiocarbon dating (Carver *et al*. 2009: 47; Hedges 2011; Hills and O'Connell 2009) and strontium and oxygen isotope analysis can be used on burials (Evans *et al*. 2006), and even DNA studies (Pattison 2008) offer potential to help identify the ethnic background of people in 5th- and 6th-century Britain. Fuller use of Thermoluminescence will guide us better on ceramic sequences (Vince 2005), and archaeomagnetic dating has been successfully utilised (Clarke and Fulford 2002: 152; Telfer 2008: 257).

If these aspects can be expanded, enhanced, and refined, then the following additional research directions can be attempted / promoted:

Modelling North-Western European Urban Forms. The key component of this study has been the effort to model urban forms in Britain from AD 300 to 600. British archaeologists all too rarely look to urban settings on the continent to see the changes there from late Roman into Frankish, Visigothic, or Lombard control (as touched upon in Section 6.6). Yet some urban archaeologies are well advanced on the continent (for Italy see Christie 2006; for Gaul see Knight 1999; for Spain see Kulikowski 2004), and may well offer evidence of value for our British urban contexts.

Tracing 'Smaller Urbanisms'. The most numerous form of late Roman British urbanism was the 'small town'. Although this research has focused upon the major urban centres because they have better data sequences, small towns (discussed in Section 6.5 and Chapter 7) offer much potential for further comparing the varying urban forms, especially if additional projects like that currently underway at Dorchester-on-Thames occur (Booth *et al.* 2011).

Northern Towns: Northern Trends? While this research has focused mainly on southern and central England, a growing set of data exists for settlements in northern Roman Britain (though major urban sites are few and are comparatively poorly investigated). While key sites have been drawn upon in Chapters 6 and 7, there is further scope for more detailed comparison of divergent settlement forms. As a less urbanised territory, did towns fragment sooner, or perhaps endure longer?

'Tyrants' and Towns. Assessing how far or soon old towns became seats of early medieval royal power needs more work. Did such power evolve from these places or was it imposed by them? Were such towns chosen because of a lingering Romano-British presence or more for location and defensive capabilities? We need to consider roles in landscapes, especially in the context of emergent early medieval kingdoms.

Townscapes within Landscapes. Placing settlements in their hinterland context has become a common research theme across study periods and regions, but less so for the late Roman and early medieval period. More detailed assessment of their linkage and significance in periods when the urban-rural divisions were becoming less apparent could be particularly rewarding, in terms of more fully comprehending significant landscape changes over time.

Two Millennia of Urbanism. Many of the towns in 21st-century Britain have Roman roots, and therefore urban sequences of almost 2000 years. It is crucial to look at wider sequence of urban transformations (be that from medieval, post-medieval, or modern perspectives), assessing urban trends over longer periods without being restricted by modern-day terminologies dividing up the past into separate chunks. Are there similar patterns of intramural foci, defensive wall maintenance, and disposal practice? Useful comparisons can then be made in varying urban forms, fortunes, and failings throughout time.

Heritage and Public Awareness. Traditional (and outmoded) views persist on this late Roman to early medieval period, and there is therefore a need to raise public awareness that this was a complicated timespan, where differing peoples merged to fundamentally change settlement, control, display, the landscape, and crucially peoples' lives. To promote and educate the public on what life for people in Britain was like in the 4th to 6th centuries AD would prove most beneficial for understanding the roots of an Anglo-Saxon (and later) an English and British identity.

8.7 Concluding Remarks: What is New?

This research has been materially informed and focused, but with elements of theory. It has used the archaeological evidence to back-up or debunk existing theories. At its core is the analysis of the minutiae of archaeological data, often from new unpublished sources. Only by looking in detail and expanding and relating it to the wider picture has it been possible to get to this position.

It has been my goal that this research generates fuller insights into a period of 'urbanism' that remains understudied and undervalued. The new models of urban change proposed here are to promote debate and to be tested when further data emerge. While providing a springboard for future assessments and investigations, I hope we have moved a step closer to bringing our understanding of the archaeologies of towns of AD 300 to 600 out of the dark, and into a more balanced, more informed and clearer perception of this complex period in Britain's urban past.

Appendices

The appendices contain the detailed tables of data. Appendix 1 contains the listings of all 4th- to 6th-century settlement evidence in the nine case-study towns (a table is provided for both the evidence from the 4th century, and the 5th to 6th centuries AD). Appendix 2 contains lists of further data by structure type. Notes on abbreviations in the tables of data:

- Dates= probable construction and disuse date of a building / structure / feature
- SFB = Sunken-Featured Building
- HER = Historic Environment Record
- UAD = Urban Archaeological Database

Appendix 1: Case Studies Data

TABLE 11: CANTERBURY: 4TH-CENTURY SETTLEMENT EVIDENCE

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATES	NOTES	REFERENCE
town defences	-	AD 270 +	Earth rampart 7.5m x 2.25m, stone wall 2.3m wide. interval towers (25sq m). Internal tower built contemporary with wall, Whitefriars 4.3m x 4.7m (artillery platform?). 1 carriageway blocked (Riding Gate), area then used for metalworking (copper alloy), coins of AD 320 and 322. Later external towers, ditch 21.5m x 5.5m. Earth rampart and wall heightened.	Blockley 1989: 128-134; Frere *et al.* 1982: 17-20, 33, 61-2; Hicks and Houliston 2001: 7; Hicks and Houliston 2004: 292
forum	-	*c.* AD 350 - AD	Partial reconstruction of *forum*, wall rebuilt from near ground level. Pottery dating to late 4th century.	Frere *et al.* 1987: 93-102; Canterbury Archaeology Trust 2011
theatre	-	AD 80 - 350	New D-shaped theatre replaced older 1st-century theatre, huge size, built in late 3rd or early 4th century. Uncertain how long it was used for; still upstanding as ruin.	Frere 1970: 87-91
temple	-	AD 250 - 360	Reconstructed in mid 3rd - mid 4th century with courtyard re-metalled and temple demolished by AD 360. Further re-metalling after AD 360 and portico demolished. Dark earth soils over latest metalling.	Bennett and Nebiker 1989: 285-6
baths	St. Margaret's St	AD 100 - AD 400+	AD 300, re-floorings and major rebuild. SE corner rebuilt *c*. AD 300/320-350. Baths out of use by AD 350. *Pilae* of hypocaust removed in *laconicum*, then reused for industrial activities with a long sequence of timber structures in the mid to late 4th century. Hearths within the structures contained slag, also iron slag in pits close by, along with charcoal, crucibles and moulds (copper alloys and gold), scrap from bronzeworking. Coin below this of AD 345-8; flood silts above had a coin of Valens (AD 364), activity could go into the 5th century.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 171, 188-191
baths	St. George's St	AD 100 - 360	Baths renovated AD 355-360 with 11 new rooms added. Other internal walls rebuilt. Used to AD 360 when there seems to have been a fire, not rebuilt.	Blockley 1988; Frere and Stow 1983: 29-39
building	Burgate Street	AD 175 - 350	Small part of Roman building, possibly in use to mid-4th century.	Frere 1948: 8-19
building	Butchery Lane, B1	AD 275 - 325	Late 3rd century building with at least 13 rooms, in use to early 4th century.	Frere 1948: 8-19

building	Burgate St, Site L	AD 225 - 383	Small part of building seen, 3rd century building in use late into 4th century. Occupation layer with coins to AD 388. Post-holes cut into this, function of room/building is uncertain.	Frere and Stow 1983: 111-112
building	Burgate St, Site M	AD 200 - 350	Small part of building seen, 3rd century building in use at least to mid 4th century.	Frere and Stow 1983: 113
building	St. George's St	AD 250 - 360+	Large apsed building, demolished after AD 360.	Frere and Stow 1983: 45
building	West of Canterbury Lane. Area R	AD 200 - 310	Large 3rd century building lasts just into the 4th century.	Frere and Stow 1983: 71-73
building	West of Canterbury Lane. Area R	AD 410+	Timber building built over junction of two streets. Oblong plan, 7.6 x 3.7m. Floor made partly with reused crushed Roman tile. Coin of Arcadius in beam-slot: 'dates to the period after the breakdown of civic discipline' (presumably this means after AD 410).	Frere and Stow 1983: 73-4
building	Bus Station (Trench 3)	AD 350 - 400+	Only small part of building seen; late Roman pottery in floor.	Frere and Stow 1983: 135
building	East of Canterbury Lane	AD 300 - 400	Valens coin in floor. Building burnt down, coin of Theodosius I in debris (AD 379-395).	Frere and Stow 1983: 87
building	Burgate St Area Y	AD 250 - 350	A series of timber buildings along Roman street, these are destroyed by fire *c.*390-400.	Frere and Stow 1983: 121-3
building	7 & 8 Church St. Trench II	AD 375 - 400+	Small part of timber building seen.	Frere *et al.* 1987: 39
building	53 King Street	AD 275 - 300-400	Small part of building seen.	Frere *et al.*1987: 78
building	3 Palace Street	AD 200 - 325	Small part of building seen.	Frere *et al.*1987: 83-5
building	3 Watling Street	AD 380 - 425	Small part of building seen.	Frere *et al.* 1987: 121-3
building	Marlowe Car Park. Area MIII	AD 350 - 370	Semi-industrial structures within former public baths.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 171
building	Marlowe Car Park. Area MIII	AD 300 - ?	Large townhouse (R26), high-status with baths. Seen also by Frere 1946-57. AD 350 stock-room re-use with a series of circular furnaces. Elsewhere part of the building was renovated.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 171
building	Marlowe Car Park. Area MIV	AD 300 - ?	Timber building (R12E) within an old masonry building (RII).	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 171
building	Marlowe Car Park. Area MT	AD 300 - ?	Timber building (R38) built over dismantled building (R36) within an old masonry building (RII).	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 171
building	Marlowe Car Park	AD 350 - ?	Shop stalls on main street, with bone-pin manufacturing. The timber buildings reuse crushed tile and *opus signium*.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 171
building	Marlowe Car Park. R38	AD 250 - 350/370	Townhouse abandoned by AD 370.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 171
building	Marlowe Car Park	AD 375 - *c.* 410	Timber buildings built over part of street. Timber planking survived as impressions in silt. A series of structures, 20m in length. Regular spaced and sized suggests a planned build - not ad hoc. Coins to AD 388 - 402. Timber planked floor replaced by another after AD 388-402, indicates structures in use into 5th century.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 172
building	Marlowe Car Park. R26A	AD 375 - *c.* 410	Timber structure within Room 7 of building R26.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 171
building	Whitefriars. St. Georges St. CW13	AD 300 - ?	Two phases of timber structures within the ruins of a 3rd century building. 2nd phase building burnt down. Coins of late 4th to early 5th century, sealed by dark earth.	Hicks and Houliston 2001: 5
building	Whitefriars. Gravel Walk	AD 250 - ?	3rd century townhouse. High status with mosaics. Remodelled. Uncertain end date in report. Mainly open area surrounding this building in the Roman period. Some timber buildings along the street front but open areas further back.	Hicks and Houliston 2003: 5

building	Whitefriars (2003, final phase)	AD 375 - ?	Structure built across west side of street. Road surfaces of late 4th century date built up against this. A short gap then further surfaces. Dark earth sealed final street metallings.	Hicks and Houliston 2004: 4-7
building	The Beaney 2010	AD 270 - 325	Timber building, burnt down around AD 325. Replaced by two buildings (see below).	Canterbury Archaeology Trust 2011
building	The Beaney 2010	AD 325 - ?	Building with foundations that reused material, probably from the *forum*.	Canterbury Archaeology Trust 2011
building	The Beaney 2010	AD 325 - ?	Adjacent building with foundations that reused material, probably from the *forum*.	Canterbury Archaeology Trust 2011
dark earth	Temple precinct (& Blue Boy Yard)	AD 325 - ?	Dark earth, homogenous throughout. No Anglo-Saxon evidence.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 262; Wilson *et al.* 2001: 4-7
dark earth	Marlowe Car Park. MI	AD 325 - ?	Dark earth forming from this date, latest coins AD 330-45.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 263
dark earth	Marlowe Car Park. MII	AD 410 - ?	Dark earth forming from this date, latest coins AD 322-24.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 263
dark earth	Marlowe Car Park. MIII	AD 410 - ?	Dark earth forming from this date, latest coins AD 393-423.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 263
dark earth	Marlowe Car Park. MIV	AD 475 - ?	Dark earth forming from this date, latest coins AD 337-341.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 263
dark earth	12 Beer Cart Lane	AD 400 - 500	Thin dark earth within temple precinct area - walled area used as cattle enclosure in Anglo-Saxon period?	Pratt 1999: 6
dark earth	Hospital Lane	AD 300 - ?	Dark earth deposits identified.	Boden and Gollop 2003: 14-15
dark earth	76 Castle St	AD 400 - ?	Dark earth deposits identified, contained early Anglo-Saxon finds, over old Roman portico and courtyard of Temple Precinct.	Bennett and Nebiker 1989: 9-10
dark earth	St. George's Clocktower	AD 400 - ?	Thick dark earth deposits identified.	Bennett *et al.* 1992: 4-5
dark earth	Canterbury Cathedral	AD 400 - ?	Dark earth deposits identified. Earliest church cut into these deposits.	Blockley *et al.* 1997: 12
street maintenance	Marlowe Car Park. Area MIII	AD 300 - 350	Brick-lined sewer constructed along street.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 171
street maintenance	Marlowe Car Park	AD 350 - ?	Street widened towards the palaestra.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 171
silver hoard	Ring Road 1962	c. AD 400-425	Found in 1962 during construction work on the ring road. Silver ingots, 12 silver spoons. c. AD 420, an assemblage of Christian silver? - Church wealth buried for safety?	Johns and Potter 1985: 313-352
Temple or Church	12 Beer Cart Lane	AD 300 - ?	Substantial late Roman wall found within Temple Precinct area. Very small part seen. Interpreted as either very late Pagan temple, or early Christian church.	Pratt 1999: 6-7
cemetery	Hallett's Garage, St. Dunstan's St	AD 300 - 450	Cemetery built after the defences constructed in the late 3rd century.	Gollop 2011: 12-17

Table 12: Canterbury: 5th- to 6th-century settlement evidence

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATES	NOTES	REFERENCE
building	Marlowe Car Park. Area MI	AD 450 - 475/500	One SFB, sub-oval, 4.5m x 3.85m x 0.25m. 5 postholes (1 outside sunken area), 2 small rubbish pits.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 270
buildings	Marlowe Car Park. Area MIV	AD 450 - 475/500	Six SFBs. A pit dates to AD 400-500, sub-rectangular SFBs and rubbish pits and undated postholes.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 271
hearth and soils	Marlowe Car Park. Area MII	AD 450 - 475/500	Hearth with soils, no buildings. Little Anglo-Saxon occupation in this area.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 271

buildings	Marlowe Car Park. Area MI	AD 450 - 550	Three SFBs and two post-built structures.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 270
buildings	Marlowe Car Park. Area MIV	AD 500 - 550	Two SFBs. 2m gap between them - space for street on alignment of Roman street.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 271
buildings	Marlowe Car Park. Area MI	AD 550 - 650	Three SFBs (one in demolished Roman building). Also more structurally advanced post-built structure.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 270
buildings	Marlowe Car Park. Area MIV	AD 550 - 650	Three SFBs and pits.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 271
buildings	Marlowe Car Park. Area MII	AD 650 - 700	Two SFB buildings within an around decaying Roman structures.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 271
buildings	Marlowe Car Park. Area MIII	AD 450 - 700	Two SFB buildings. One within *caldarium* of Roman building (R26), the other south adjacent to street.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 271
buildings	Marlowe Car Park. Area MT	AD 450 - 700	Two SFBs. 2m gap between them - space for street on alignment of Roman street.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 271
buildings	Marlowe Car Park. Area MIV	AD 650 +	One SFB, well & pits.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 271
buildings	Simon Langton Yard	AD 500 – 625	Four SFBs aligned to street. Not all contemporary. Earlier pottery suggests 5th-century settlement close by.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 271
buildings	Simon Langton Yard	AD 650	One SFB aligned to street.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 271
buildings	Simon Langton Yard	AD 675 +	One SFB aligned to street.	Blockley *et al.* 1995: 271
building	Outer Court, Archbishops Palace	AD 400 - 600	A possible SFB, or else a pit.	Pratt 2004: 7; Simon Pratt pers. comm.; Ward 2003; Ward and Pratt 2004: 7
buildings	Hospital Lane	AD 400 - 600	Several SFBs.	Allen 2001; Canterbury Archaeological Trust 2003: 294
building	Love Lane	AD 400 - 600	One SFB.	Canterbury Archaeological Trust 2007: 323
buildings	Whitefriars. Former multi-story car park.	AD 400 - 600	Four SFBs, located near to Roman road, suggest street in use in Anglo-Saxon period.	Hicks and Houliston 2003: 6; M. Houliston pers. comm.
building	Whitefriars (2003, final phase)	AD 400 - 600	At least three SFBs. One cut into surface of Roman road, two more located further east.	Hicks and Houliston 2004: 4-7; M. Houliston pers. comm.
building	Whitefriars. St. Georges St. CW13	AD 700 - 800?	Lots of building activity. Only vaguely reported in interims.	Hicks and Houliston 2002
buildings	The Beany 2010	AD 400 - 600	One SFB, perhaps more. To the north of the *forum*, perhaps shows a more widespread settlement.	Canterbury Archaeology Trust 2011
street metallings	Roman Theatre	AD 400 - 600	Post-Roman street metallings through the Roman Theatre, may be early Anglo-Saxon in date. SW-NE aligned wheel ruts worn into the surface of the orchestra. Later Anglo-Saxon street realigned to pass through the theatre.	Sparey-Green 2011: 11-12
burial	68-69a Stour Street	AD 450	Four bodies buried in the base of a large pit, to the west of the Temple Precinct. Male (aged 30-40), Female (35-45), two girls (8 & 12), and a dog. Several bronze bracelets on wrists of females, two bangles, a lady's razor (AD 350 - 400), five bronze keys, *c*.30 beads, three amber (Germanic, 5th century?).	Bennett 1980, Harmsworth 2004: 29-30
burials	Whitefriars. Former multi-story car park.	AD 300 +	Southern area of excavation, articulated remains of eight individuals. One buried carefully, one buried face down. Provisionally dated to the 4th century based on group of bracelets found on one body. Perhaps in fact 5th century, similar to other burial.	Hicks and Houliston 2003: 6
burial	St. Dunstan's Church	AD 450 - 700	Anglo-Saxon inhumation in west of town.	Brooks 1984: 16

burial	Martyr's Field	AD 450 - 700	5th century square-headed brooch from inhumation burial - south of town.	Brooks 1984: 16
burial	north gate	AD 450 - 700	Anglo-Saxon inhumation.	Brooks 1984: 16
burial	east gate	AD 450 - 700	Anglo-Saxon cremation.	Brooks 1984: 16
findspot	St. Sepulchre	AD 450 - 700	Anglo-Saxon finds from area of Roman cemetery.	Brooks 1984: 16
church	Cathedral	AD 600 - 669	Anglo-Saxon Minster built over Roman street, reused Roman masonry. 32m x 22m. AD 597 - 669.	Blockley 1997: 12
church	St. Martin's	AD 600 +	Bertha's chapel reusing Roman building materials, Bede mentions this. Major mid-Saxon settlement grew up here, Anglo-Saxon burials discovered in 2001.	Welch 2007: 237; Sparey-Green 2002

Table 13: Cirencester: 4th-century settlement evidence

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATES	NOTES	REFERENCE
town defences	-	AD 175+	Stone wall added AD 240-270. Early 4th century wall was rebuilt / repaired. External polygonal bastion towers added. 13 discovered, all 5-6m wide, and some used reused stone blocks. Undated, though probably after AD 348.	Wacher and Salvatore 1998: 302; Hancocks *et al.* 2008: 93
forum	*Insula* I	ad 300 - 400?	*c*.AD 300 *forum* divided into two, one enclosed internal colonnade and red-painted wall plaster. *c*. AD 350 mosaic added, a governor's *praetorium*? *Basilica* had back range of rooms remodelled *c*.AD 350 (metalworking). AD 360s *forum* piazza re-floored (sandstone slabs), became worn.	Holbrook and Timby 1998: 108-110.
macellum	*Insula* II	AD 300 - 360	AD 300 extensively repaired, then abandoned and partly demolished AD 350-60 (no coins of AD 364-378, only one coin of AD 388-402).	Darvill and Gerrard 1994: 62
amphitheatre	SW of town	AD 100 - 450+	Built 800m SW of town. Eastern entrance passages and walls demolished, coins of AD 330-348 and AD 348-364. Road surfaces re-laid three times, late 4th century coins between layers. Coins of AD 388-402 in narrowed entrance. Within arena a large timber-framed building constructed. 8 x 5m, 5 postholes. Coin of AD 330-341 from arena floor, 12th century pottery from one posthole (probably intrusive as top of trench was churned up), building sealed by layer with coin of Theodosius.	Holbrook 1998b: 166-175; White 2007: 190
shop	V.1, *Insula* V	AD 78 - 410+	Narrow rectangular shop, coins of Gratian AD 378-83, Valens AD 364-78.	Holbrook 1998c: 205
shop	V.2, *Insula* V	AD 78 - 410+	Narrow rectangular shop, rebuilt early part of 4th C, in use to AD 340.	Holbrook 1998c: 205
shop	V.3, *Insula* V	AD 78 - 410+	Seven rooms, latest floor surface AD 395+ (coin of Arcadius AD 383-395).	Holbrook 1998c: 205
shop	V.4, *Insula* V	AD 78 - 410+	small square shop, floor overlies coins of Theodosius AD 388-402. Hearths and iron slag = blacksmithing?	Holbrook 1998c: 205
shop	V.5, *Insula* V	AD 78 - 410+	Large 5 room shop in corner of *insula*, latest coins from surface AD 388-402. Lots of butchered animal bones (butchers?).	Holbrook 1998c: 205
shop	V.6, *Insula* V	AD 78 - 410+	West corner of *Insula* V, much enlarged c.330. Latest floor surfaces could be late 4th C. Could be in use in early 5th century.	Holbrook 1998c: 217
shop	V.7, *Insula* V	AD 78 - 410+	Demolished in the early 4th century.	Holbrook 1998c: 217
building	17 The Avenue, XIV.2	AD 100 - 400	1968 excavation. Three winged building fronting onto the street. Continued occupation into the 4th century 'at least'.	McWhirr 1986: 249
building	33 Querns Lane, III	ad 300 - 400?	Roadside building (Building III.I) close to Bath Gate. Stone-built. 4th century pottery from floor surface. Demolition rubble overlying the surface and late 4th century artefacts.	Cotswold Archaeology 2002
building	56 Chester St, IX	AD 300 - ?	A small trench located a mosaic stylistically dated to the 4th C.	Holbrook and Hirst 2008: 84-87

building	Abbey Grounds 1964-6, XXV.1	AD 200 - 350	A large courtyard structure excavated in 1964, robbed AD 350.	McWhirr 1986: 222-226
building	Abbey Grounds 1964-6, XXVI.1.	AD 200 - 350	Part of a building, robbed in second half of the 4th century.	McWhirr 1986: 227-229
building	Ashcroft House, XXI.I	AD 150 - 400?	Building enlarged *c*.300 (double in size from 5 to 10 rooms).	Reece 1976: 92-100
building	Bingham Hall Gardens, IX	AD 300 - 400?	Part of a building with 4th century coins, latest House of Theodosius AD 388-396.	McWhirr 1986: 194-205
building	St. Michaels Field, VI.3	AD 300 - 400+	East wing of a courtyard house, built over demolished shops. Mosaics, 1st floor had a coin deposit of AD 350-360. Final floor surface had coins of AD 388-402.	Holbrook 1998: 244
building	*Insula* X	AD 300 - ?	Four buildings seen as cropmarks. One building resembles the 'workshop' similar to Beeches *Insula* X building.	Holbrook 2008: 92
building	Lock's Timber Yard, XIV.3	AD 375+ - AD 410+	Part of a building with two walls and a platform, coin of Valentinian II from the building, along with coins from House of Theodosius below the latest floor surface.	McWhirr 1986: 249
building	Parsonage Field, IV.I	AD 180 - 350	Large structure, *opus signinum* flooring, finds to the mid 4th century, coin of AD 388-395 in make-up of latest floor level of one room, major reworking of building after AD 388.	Rennie 1971: 64-94
building	Police Station, XVIII,1	AD 310 - ?	A 2nd-century building was levelled *c*. AD300-320, new building built with substantial foundations.	McWhirr 1986: 251
building	Stepstairs Lane 2002-3, VII.B	AD 200 - 300	A 2nd century building was remodelled c.AD 200, building demolished *c*.AD 300 late Roman coins (House of Theodosius, and AD 367-375 in demolition deposits and garden soil above).	Brett and Watts 2008: 74-76
building	Stonewalls House IX	AD 300 - 402+	A very small trench (2.9 x 1.9m) located a Roman building. A mortar floor had a occupation deposit that was charcoal rich and contained a coin of AD 388-402. Sealed by demolition rubble which had various objects; dated by a coin of AD 388-402.	Holbrook and Hirst 2008: 87
workshop	The Beeches 1970-3, XII.1	AD 350+ - ?	A substantial (25 x 18m) building with mosaics and hypocausts. Smithing waste (hearth bottom from outbuilding). Possible blacksmith?	McWhirr 1986: 23-44
barns	The Beeches 1970-3, XII.2	AD 350+ - ?	A substantial (31 x 21m) building with villa-like plan with mosaics and hypocausts. Two outbuildings to the rear. A 13 x 8m no internal divisions, B 13 x 12m large open room with three side rooms. Barns? Part of plough found.	McWhirr 1986: 45-70
barns	The Beeches 1970-3, XII.3	AD 350+ - ?	Rectangular structure 23 x 11m. Large central area, smaller rooms to the sides. At least four hearths within it.	McWhirr 1986: 71-78
building	Victoria Road, XI.1	AD 200 - 410+	Excavations in 1962 were limited in size, but did reveal a complex structural sequence. The building was modified over 4 phases, the latest lasted into the 5th century.	McWhirr 1986: 247
building	Watermoor School 1967, VII.1.	AD 350 - ?	Part of a building, hypocaust added in the 2nd half of the 4th century, replacing an earlier heating system.	McWhirr 1986: 227-229
dark earth	Abbey Grounds, XXV.1	AD 350	Dark earth over robbed courtyard building. Pottery dated to AD 350-370. Coins of Gratian, Valentinian I and II, Arcadius.	McWhirr 1986: 222-226
dark earth	public building, *Insula* II	AD 300 - 450?	Dark earth soils in courtyard of large 2nd century public building, next to *forum*. pit digging also. contained 3rd and 4th century artefacts. Sealed by possible 5th century structure.	Timby *et al.* 1998: 122-141
dark earth	Querns Lane	AD 350+	Collapsed roof of building, over which dark earth accumulations. Lots of coins, dates of AD 340-350 for the roof collapse, dark earth then follows from AD 350+	Reece 1956: 203-204
dark earth	Querns Road	AD 388	Dark earth covered a large area, 1.1m thick 'lapped up against the back of the rampart bank', coins of Theodosius AD 388-402.	Wacher and Salvatore 1998: 64-66
dark earth	Stonewalls House, IX	AD 400	Demolition deposits over 4th century building, sealed by dark earth.	Holbrook and Hirst 2008: 87

dark earth	The Beeches 1970-3, XII.3	AD 375+	A dark earth soil filled the inside of a rectangular structure. A gradual accumulation, no tip layers or dumps. Probable rubbish dump from AD 375-395 as indicated by the coins and pottery.	McWhirr 1986: 71-72
dark earth	Verulamium Gate	AD 400+	Overlies gravelled surface that was in use in AD 388-402, so probable 5th century soil dumps, lots of 4th century coins.	Wacher and Salvatore 1998: 45
burials?	*Insula* XXIII	AD 400?	Two bodies in roadside ditch, Wacher says late Roman indicating 'an outbreak of malignant disease' once civic order has completely broken down. No dating evidence so really uncertain on significance.	Wacher 1974: 313
structure	*Insula* VI.3	AD 410+ - ?	Possible timber structure, within yard of large courtyard building in *Insula* VI. Coins of AD 388-402, though probably later than the courtyard building so maybe 5th century.	Timby *et al.* 1998: 122-141

Table 14: Cirencester: 5th- to 6th-century settlement evidence

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATE	NOTES	REFERENCE
findspot	Amphitheatre	AD 450 - 600	Four sherds of grass-tempered pottery from turf sealing the gate and arena wall.	Holbrook 1998: 174
findspot	Grove Lane, Abbey Grounds	AD 450 - 600	Small group of early Saxon pottery, outside NE town defences.	Holbrook 1998: 174
findspot	Abbey Grounds	AD 450 - 600	Ring-headed bronze pin. 'Ibex-headed' (ribbing of the ring), silver band. Could date to the 5th or 6th century. Found in late Saxon robber trench of 9th-century Saxon church.	Brown 1976: 19; Wilkinson 1998: 72
findspot	The Beeches	AD 450 - 600	Ring-headed bronze pin. Very similar to pin from Abbey.	McWhirr 1986: 106-107
findspot	Corinium Museum ref B 280	AD 500 - 600	Long bronze pin. Find location unknown. Given a 'sub-Roman' date, i.e. 5th century.	Brown 1976: 21
findspot	Corinium Museum ref C 49	AD 500 - 600	Bronze Buckle. Find location unknown. 5th-century date. Similar example from France.	Brown 1976: 21-22
findspot	British Museum ref 1929.7-15.6	AD 450 - 600	Bronze disc brooch. Probably found close to Barton Farm cemetery.	Brown 1976: 22-23
findspot	17 The Avenue, *Insula* XIV	AD 500-550	Gilt bronze fitting from a sword scabbard.	Brown 1976: 23-24
findspot	Corinium Museum ref B 66	*c.* AD 500	Iron spearhead, location unknown.	Brown 1976: 24
findspot	Corinium Museum refs C909, C917, C919.	AD 450 - 600	Four glass beads with decoration.	Brown 1976: 24-25
findspot	Corinium Museum ref B789	AD 450 - 600	Double-pointed bone pin beater. For warp-weighted loom.	Brown 1976: 28
burials	Barton Farm	AD 500 - 600	A 6th-century cemetery is known from discoveries from 1866 to 1931. Located 250 metres north-west of the town at Barton Farm. Two burials contained shield bosses. The burials had been cut through a mosaic of a Roman villa. Pottery, a small-long brooch, double-sided bone comb. Overall indicates a 6th-century date.	Brown 1976: 31-32; Holbrook 1998: 174
findspot	British Museum ref Sloane 523	AD 600 - 700	Bronze pin, find location unknown.	Brown 1976: 24
findspot	Corinium Museum ref A88, 338/1945	AD 600 - 700	Five glass beads with decoration. Uncertain if from Cirencester. One may come from Ireland.	Brown 1976: 25-27

TABLE 15: COLCHESTER: 4TH-CENTURY SETTLEMENT EVIDENCE

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATES	NOTES	REFERENCE
town defences	-	AD 275 - 300	Late 3rd-century major alterations (town ditch re-modelled, Balkerne Lane gate blocked, earthwork bank added outside 'Duncan's Gate').	Crummy 2001, 2003; Crummy and Brooks 1984: 111-115
forum	*Insula* 30	AD 43 +	Unexcavated, presumed location shown on plan in chapter 3.	Hull 1955: 155
waterhouse	*Insula* 15	AD 200 - 337-350	In use to mid-4th century, association with bathhouse? Demolished (coin - Constans AD 337-350). Then rubbish disposal (coin - Valentinian AD 364-378).	Crummy 1994: 15
theatre	*Insula* 13	AD 200 - ?	Partly investigated, no late evidence.	Crummy 1982
temple	temple of Claudius, *Insula* 22	AD 43 - 400+	Temple in use to mid-4th century, then rubbish dump onwards.	Hull 1955; Drury 1984
temple	Balkerne Lane B52	AD 100 - 400	Romano-Celtic temple, 14.5m x 7.3m, rectangular. Ambulatory demolished AD 300-400 (Coin AD 341-6), cella walls still standing - converted into Christian use?	Crummy 1984: 92
masonry building	Lion Walk B19, *Insula* 36	AD 150 - 335	Courtyard house, rooms added in 4th century on N side, other rooms combined, mosaics (coin AD 330-5).	Crummy 1984: 52
masonry building	Lion Walk B20, *Insula* 36	AD 150 - 346	Courtyard house, replaced buildings 8 and 16, tessellated pavements in later phase. Workshops on street frontage, demolished in late 3rd century (coin - AD 341-6). Roman pits, spreads over demolition of B20.	Crummy 1984: 56
building	Lion Walk B21,*Insula* 36	AD 200 - 300	Demolished by AD 300	Crummy 1984: 66
building	Lion Walk B22, *Insula* 36	AD 200 - 335	Small cellared building, 2nd century pottery in floor surface, coins in backfilled cellar (AD 330-5).	Crummy 1984: 66
building	Lion Walk B23, *Insula* 36	AD 200 - 260	Demolished by AD 260.	Crummy 1984: 68
workshop	Lion Walk B24, *Insula* 36	AD 300 - 400	4th-century workshops.	Crummy 1984: 69
workshop	Lion Walk B25, *Insula* 36	AD 300 - 400	4th-century workshops.	Crummy 1984: 69
building	Culver St B110, *Insula* 34/35	AD 100 - 300+	Little survived of floors from medieval and later pit digging and cultivation, latest surfaces tessellated.	Crummy 1992:75
building	Culver St B111, *Insula* 34/35	AD 100 - 300+	Uncertain, may go into 4th century.	Crummy 1992: 76
building	Culver St B112, *Insula* 34/35	AD 100 - 325	Block of 6 rooms in NE corner of *Insula* 34, series of ovens in later 3rd century.	Crummy 1992: 76-79
masonry building	Culver St B113, *Insula* 34/35	AD 100 - 325	Substantial high-status townhouse, single corridor-type.	Crummy 1992: 79-80
masonry building	Culver St B114, *Insula* 34/35	AD 100 - 325	Substantial high-status townhouse. Collapsed wall plaster sealed by occupation soils (building occupied when in a state of bad repair?). Minor fire in rooms 2 & 3 - last evidence before demolition spreads.	Crummy 1992: 82-83
masonry building	Culver St B115, *Insula* 34	AD 225 - 400+	Probably a large townhouse, to rear of town rampart, fronted onto west side of *Insula* 34, tessellated floors.	Crummy 1992: 85
masonry building	Culver St B116, *Insula* 34/35	AD 225 - 325	Substantial townhouse, 8 rooms.	Crummy 1992: 88
masonry building	Culver St B120, *Insula* 34/35	AD 225 - 300	Winged corridor-type, street-frontage floors worn and patchy. Part of mosaic removed prior to demolition by AD 300. Dark earth over room 10 pavement. Soils contain both domestic waste and stable sweepings.	Crummy 1992: 112-116
masonry building	Culver St B122, *Insula* 34/35	AD 150 - 325	Latest levels destroyed by med cultivation soils.	Crummy 1992: 120
masonry building	Culver St B123, *Insula* 34/35	AD 150 - 325	Large townhouse (largest in town), water tank added in yard *c.* AD 300. Much of site covered by dark earth. Collapsed walls, deliberately demolished.	Crummy 1992: 112-116

building	Culver St B124, *Insula* 34/35	AD 150 - 325	North side of east-west street, site E. Dumped deposits probably from site E period 5.	Crummy 1992: 112-116
granary	Culver St B125, *Insula* 34/35	AD 200 - 300	Tower granary- levelled by AD 300. Corn-drying oven (4th century) cut into demolished granary, filled with Anglo-Saxon 6th/7th-century material.	Crummy 1992: 112-116
large aisled building	Culver St B127, *Insula* 34/35	AD 275 - 400+	Barn or church, two burials (C14 dates AD 225-375). Built over Buildings 122 & 123 (coin 270-84). North-south burials close to foundations, agricultural barn? Drainage gullies and rubble spreads within soil layer - boundary fence or small building (coins AD 330-45 & 313-4).	Crummy 1992: 112-116
building	CUL138, *Insula* 34/35	AD 250 - 350+	Small building fronting north-south street (NE corner of *Insula* 17a), 2 rooms, timber-framed, clay floors, Romano-Saxon (?) pottery, yard surface with dump layer with coin of Carausius AD 286-293. Streets in use until 4th century (coin - Constantius II 330-1). Late Roman cultivation soils over southern part of site.	Crummy 1992: 112-116
building	Long Wyre St B145	AD 150 - 400	Street and building.	Crummy 1992: 125
building	Long Wyre St B146	AD 150 - 400	Street and building.	Crummy 1992: 125
building	Long Wyre St B147	AD 150 - 400	Street and building.	Crummy 1992: 125
building	Long Wyre St B148	AD 275 - 400+	Street and building.	Crummy 1992: 125
building	Cups Hotel B154	AD 225 - 400+	Building and pits.	Crummy 1992: 328-38
building	St Helena's School B159	AD 150 - 400	Building, truncated, possibly 4th-century.	Crummy 1992: 125
building	234.85 B170	AD 150 - 400	Building in use to *c.*400.	Crummy 1992: 125
masonry building	22-24 High St, B194&195	AD 200 - 300	Masonry building 194 & 195. A series of pits were cut in the 3rd to 4th centuries against edge of building. Group of barbarous radiates - from coin hoard c.275? Within abandoned building?	Brooks 2000b
building	25 Head St	AD 200 - 300	Roman demolition over floor surface.	Brooks 2000a; 2004
masonry building	Globe Hotel, North Hill	AD 250 - 325	High status building, heating system, tiled roof, painted rooms, demolished late 3rd to early 4th century.	Orr 2003
masonry building	Sixth Form College, North Hill	AD 300 - 400	Large townhouse, demolished in late 4th century.	Holloway 2004; Brooks *et al.* 2009
building	Central Clinic, High St.	AD 300 - 400	Roman demolition over floor surface. No good dating.	Brooks 2006
building	1-3 Queen Street	AD 300 - 400	Roman demolition over floor surface. No good dating.	Gorniak 2006
building	Angel Yard	AD 150 - 300	Building on High Street. Demolished? Coin hoard of 4th century.	Shimmin and Carter 1996
building	St. Botolphs Priory	AD 300 - 400	Late Roman building to south of town, unpublished.	Symonds and Wade 1993: 11
extra-mural building	Balkerne Lane B53	AD 100 - 400	Square-structure (shrine?), south of main street, directly opposite Romano-Celtic temple. 108m x 11.2m, demolished in late Roman period in 5th century.	Crummy 1984: 92
extra-mural building	Balkerne Lane B54	AD 250 - 300	Strip house B54, extra-mural on south-side of main street - demolished late 3rd century in advance of ditch modifications.	Crummy 1984: 127
extra-mural building	Balkerne Lane B55	AD 250 - 300	Strip house B55, extra-mural on south-side of main street - demolished late 3rd century in advance of ditch modifications.	Crummy 1984: 127
extra-mural building	Balkerne Lane B56	AD 250 - 300	Strip house B56, extra-mural on south-side of main street - demolished late 3rd century in advance of ditch modifications.	Crummy 1984: 127

extra-mural building	Balkerne Lane B57	AD 250 - 300	Strip house B57, extra-mural on south-side of main street - demolished late 3rd century in advance of ditch modifications.	Crummy 1984: 127
extra-mural building	Balkerne Lane B58	AD 250 - 300	Strip house B58, extra-mural on south-side of main street - demolished late 3rd century in advance of ditch modifications.	Crummy 1984: 127
extra-mural building	Balkerne Lane B59	AD 150 - 300	Strip house B59, extra-mural on south-side of main street - demolished late 3rd century in advance of ditch modifications.	Crummy 1984: 130
extra-mural building	Balkerne Lane B60	AD 150 - 300	Workshop (coin of AD 268-70 in late pit), demolished late 3rd century in advance of ditch modifications.	Crummy 1984:132
extra-mural building	Balkerne Lane B61	AD 150 - 300	Strip building B61, demolished late 3rd century in advance of ditch modifications.	Crummy 1984: 135
extra-mural building	Balkerne Lane B64	AD 200 - 300	Large building, 3 ovens, cellar used as dump in 4th century.	Crummy 1984: 135
extra-mural building	Balkerne Lane B65	AD 200 - 300	Large building, 3 ovens, cellar used as dump in 4th century.	Crummy 1984: 135
extra-mural building	Middleborough B71	AD 200 - 300	Large building, 5 rooms, hypocaust, mosaics, extra-mural outside North Gate.	Crummy 1984: 137
extra-mural building	Middleborough B72	AD 200 - 300	Similar to B71, extra-mural building.	Crummy 1984: 137
extra-mural building	Middleborough B73	AD 200 - 300	2 rooms, tessellated pavements, close to B71-2.	Crummy 1984: 141
extra-mural building	North Station Road 2001	AD 200 - 300	Extra-mural building fronting Roman street, demolished in 4th century, north of river.	Orr 2001
Church	Butt Rd B139 & 140	AD 330 - 410+	Constructed *c*. AD 330. Phase 1: rectangular, phase 2: apse and isles added (*c*.380), phase 3: extended (*c*.400). Clay floor and tiled roof, internal pits coins within building (AD 320-340). Animal bones (religious feasting?). A timber structure ('Building 140') *c*.335 to west of church (cook-house?) 700 burials in cemetery, two phases, earlier 3rd to 4th century aligned north-south, early 4th century are west-east (Pagan to Christian?).	Brooks 1997; Crummy *et al.* 1993: 164-199; Crummy 1997: 124
dark earth	temple of Claudius, *Insula* 22	AD 350 - 410+	Rubbish dump in temple AD 350+, pottery rim sherd with the Chi-Rho symbol from dark earth, Latest coins Valentinian II (A.D. 382-92) and Theodosius I (AD 379-95), pottery dates to after AD 360/70.	Hull 1955; Drury 1984
dark earth	*Insula* 34/35	AD 350 - 410+	Late Roman occupation over sites A,B,C. Rubble spreads, post-pits indicate a shallow structure. Other pits too. Site C evidence for late Roman cultivation soil.	Crummy 1992: 16-17
dark earth	*Insula* 15	AD 350 - 410+	Waterhouse used as rubbish dump from mid-late 4th century onwards.	Crummy 1994: 15
dark earth	29-39 Head St, B202	AD 250 - 400	Building, severe truncation on all late levels. Building abandoned (c. AD 300), dark earth over floor surfaces no demolition. A few residual Anglo-Saxon finds early Sceatta of AD 673-685 King Hlothere imitation.	Brooks 2000a

Table 16: Colchester: 5th- to 6th-century settlement evidence

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATES	NOTES	REFERENCE
building	Lion Walk	AD 500 - 600	Hut 1, SFB built onto collapsed Roman roof tiles and collapsed walls, one post-hole survived. Base of SFB 'peppered with stake-holes' and had a distinctive trampled surface.	Crummy and Crummy 1981: 1-4
building	Lion Walk	AD 450 - 600	Hut 2, SFB more irregular. Dug through tessellated pavement, raised floor. other features near to the Roman street front also early Anglo-Saxon.	Crummy and Crummy 1981: 4-6
building	Culver St	AD 600 - 700	Hut 3, SFB built through tessellated pavement of Room 4 in Building 113. 3.9m x3.1m, 2-post type 0.6m deep, 80 stake holes within base, two distinct layers of fill, latter clearly post-dating occupation.	Crummy 1992: 118-122
building	Culver St	AD500 - 700	Hut 4, SFB with three evenly spaced post-holes along each edge, 5.5m x 2.8m, filled with dark earth, 0.4m deep.	Crummy 1992: 118-122
findspot	Lorgarth, Nunns Road	AD 450 - 600	Excavation of 1963-4, some Anglo-Saxon pottery, and bone spindle whorl.	Crummy and Crummy 1981: 6
findspot	18 North Hill	AD 450 - 500	3 sherds on mosaic floor from 1925 excavation, bone comb, glass bowl-late Roman (finds detailed in Hull 1958: 79)	Hull 1958: 79; Crummy 1981
findspot	4+5 North Hill	AD 450 - 500	Anglo-Saxon pottery sherd found by workmen in 1940.	Hull 1958: 68
findspot	North Hill multi-story car park	AD 450 - 600	8 sherds Anglo-Saxon pottery in small pit in corridor of Roman house in *Insula* 10.	Dunnett 1967: 38, fig 12; Crummy and Crummy 1981
Findspot	Telephone Exchange	AD 450 - 600	1 sherd of Anglo-Saxon pottery from robber trench.	Crummy and Crummy 1981: 7; Dunnett 1971: 24-5
findspot	Cups Hotel	AD 600 - 700	12 sherds of mid-Saxon pottery in residual contexts, two from a pit (not residual).	Crummy and Crummy 1981: 17
findspot	Queen St	AD 600 - 700	A 7th-century 'thrymsa' found in 1952.	Crummy and Crummy 1981: 8
findspot	Luckin-Smith's Head St	AD 500 - 600	Fragment of saucer brooch found in 1962.	Crummy and Crummy 1981: 8
findspot	Shippey's Head St	AD 450 - 600	Fragments of two annular loom-weights.	Crummy and Crummy 1981: 9; Dunning *et al.* 1959: 24
findspot	Union House	AD 550 - 700	Two cruciform brooches, one mid-6th century, the other a later form.	Crummy and Crummy 1981: 9
findspot	St. Johns Church	AD 450 - 600	Four grass-tempered and undecorated sherds found in 1972.	Crummy and Crummy 1981: 12
findspot	Balkerne Lane ditch	AD 600 - 700	Finds of 7th century date from top fill of town ditch at Balkerne Lane. Ditch almost completely filled by the time the pottery was deposited.	Crummy and Crummy 1981: 17
findspot	Castle Bank	AD 600 - 700	Rim sherd under castle rampart, and another in the rampart in 1950, residual material but show nearby 7th-century occupation.	Crummy and Crummy 1981: 17
findspot	River Colne	AD 600 - 800	Weapons recovered from the river - swords and seaxes.	Crummy and Crummy 1981:19
findspot	West of Balkerne Hill	AD 450 - 600	Spearheads and shield bosses presumably from a cemetery (1km west of Balkerne Hill).	Crummy and Crummy 1981: 20-1
findspot	Grey Friars, High St	AD 450 - 700	1 sherd residual pot at Adult Learning Community College.	Orr 2007

findspot	29-39 Head St	AD 450 - 700	A few Anglo-Saxon finds in dark earth over demolished Roman building, includes an early Sceatta of AD 673-685 King Hlothere imitation.	Brooks 2000a
findspot	22-24 High St	AD 500 - 700	1 sherd of mid Anglo-Saxon pottery.	Brooks 2000b
burials	Guildford Road Estate	AD 400 - 450	Two early Saxon burials, group of finds found near the rampart outside the NE area of the town in early 1970s.	Crummy 1981: 10-12
burials	Butt Road	AD 450 - 600	High-status burials, within area of late Roman cemetery.	Crummy 1981: 13
burials	Mersea Rd	AD 450 - 600	Anglo-Saxon cemetery, various finds (presumably from burials).	Crummy 1981: 15-17
burial	Meanee Barracks	AD 500 - 700	Anglo-Saxon cremation.	Crummy 1981: 14

TABLE 17: LEICESTER: 4TH-CENTURY SETTLEMENT EVIDENCE

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATES	NOTES	REFERENCE
town defences	-	AD 175 - 350	Stone wall added in mid to late 3rd century (R. Buckley pers. comm.), bastion tower at Elbow Lane (Wacher 1959), later work at Cumberland St by Cooper 1998 thinks not bastion but consolidation of inner lip of inner town ditch. An internal interval tower at Sanvey Gate (Jarvis 2012).	Wacher 1959; L. Cooper 1998: 104; Jarvis 2012: 59-61
forum	*Insula* XXIIa	AD 50 - 368+	Fire in north aisle of *basilica* and adjacent room 2 (coin - Valens, AD 364-78), re-floored after fire, other fires in west & south-west parts of *forum*, dating uncertain.	Hebditch and Mellor 1973
macellum	*Insula* XVI	AD 200 - 410+	Late 4th-century metalworking activities – glass furnace.	N. Cooper forthcoming; Wacher 1995: 358
baths	*Insula* XXI	AD 200 - 400	Latest floor levels survive poorly (truncation), latest patching in floors AD 360-70. Latest finds: 7 House of Theodosius coins (AD 379+).	Kenyon 1948
temple	*Insula* XXI	AD 150 - 360	Basilican plan temple (*mithraeum*?) in same *Insula* as *forum*, 6.1m x 15.2m, scatter of coins on latest floor suggest a declining use after AD 360.	Wacher 1995: 359
building	Bath Lane 1968 (A1.1968), *Insula* XX	AD 250 - 400	Building remodelled in early to mid-3rd century, latest activity uncertain, could be 4th century.	Clay and Mellor 1985
building	Bath Lane 1992 (A28.1992), *Insula* XX	AD 200 - 325	Building in disrepair and partly demolished in early 4th century.	Cooper 1993: 83-86
building	Blackfriars St. 1977 (A12.1977), *Insula* XIV	AD 200 - 400	Stone building, end-date uncertain (AD 200 or AD 400!).	Clay and Mellor 1985: 83-6
building	Bonner's Lane 1994	AD 300 - 378	Roadside timber building (extra-mural, south of town), encroaches slightly onto road, industrial activities (coins to AD 375). Demolished by AD 378.	Finn 1994, 2002b, 2004
building	Butt Close Lane 1968, *Insula* XIX	AD 321-350	Timber(?) building constructed next to rampart after AD 321-2.	Mellor 1968-9:5, Buckley and Lucas 1987: 30-38
building	Causeway Lane 1991 Structure K, *Insula* XII	AD 388 - 400+	Timber building in *Insula* XII, coin of AD 388-395.	Connor and Buckley 1999: 43
building	Causeway Lane 1991 Structure L, *Insula* XII	AD 354 - 400+	Timber building, *Insula* XII. Evidence for a hearth or furnace lining associated with building. Coin of AD 354-364. Constructed over backfilled quarry.	Connor and Buckley 1999: 44
building	Causeway Lane 1991 Structure M, *Insula* XII	AD 300 - 375	Timber building, *Insula* XII, built over make-up layers and dumps/ spreads. Constructed over backfilled quarry. Latest coin AD 375-378.	Connor and Buckley 1999: 47

building	Cyparissus Mosaic, *Insula* Ixb	AD 300 - 400	128(?) Highcross Street, late 17th century reference notes the presence of a Roman mosaic, 4th century in style.	Historic Environment Record MLC1047
building	Little Lane 1988 Structure 9, *Insula* XXV	AD 200 - 350+	Road-side building (S9) constructed in the 3rd century, in use in the 4th century. Rutting in road indicates heavy use.	Lucas and Buckley 2007: 59
building	Little Lane 1988 Structure 10, *Insula* XXIV	AD 200 - 350+	Road-side building (S10)constructed in the 3rd century, in use in the 4th century, rutting in road indicates heavy use.	Lucas and Buckley 2007: 59
building	Sanvey Gate 2005 Building B, *Insula* VI	AD 200 - 400	3rd-century building continues in use into 4th century.	Jarvis 2012: 60
building	St. Nicholas Circle, 72 2005, *Insula* XXVII	AD 200 - 325	Building at least to early 4th century, then pitting and demolition spreads.	Priest 2006
building	St. Nicholas Place, 9 2003, *Insula* XXIIb	AD 300 - 400?	4th-century masonry buildings, poorly dated and only partly revealed.	Kipling 2010
building	St. Nicholas Street, 51-52 1965 *Insula* XXI	AD 100 - 400	Large townhouse, 'peacock pavement' of 2nd century date, with later rooms added in the early 4th century with mosaics.	Clay and Pollard 1994: 2-12
building	The Shakespeare's Head 1968	AD 200 - 400	Roman building with cellar.	Mellor 1969: 8
building	Thornton Lane, 51. 1963, *Insula* XXI	AD 200 - 400	Building built in the 3rd-century 'with occupation debris…suggesting use into the 4th century'	Clay and Pollard 1994: 37-42
building	Vine Street, Building G P4.1-4.3, *Insula* V	AD 200 - 350	Courtyard townhouse, largest extent from AD 275 - 325. Early 4th century soils and pits adjacent (to rear of building F). By mid-4th century no longer used as townhouse, north-end demolished, pitting in some of the disused rooms.	Higgins *et al.* 2009
building	Vine Street, G926, *Insula* IV	AD 300 - 410+	Post-hole structure, partly overlies edge of street. Could be late Roman or Saxon; dating uncertain.	Higgins *et al.* 2009: 176
building	Redcross Street 1962-3, *Insula* XXVII	AD 300 - 410+	Two 'channels' could represent a beam-slot structure built on Roman street.	Clay and Pollard 1994: 24-36
warehouse	Vine Street, Building H, *Insula* V	AD 300 - 410+	Substantial rectangular building built in early 4th century, in use probably into the 5th century.	Higgins *et al.* 2009: 143-199
workshop	Vine Street, Building G, P4.4+, *Insula* V	AD 350 - 400?	Workshop in rooms previously used as a townhouse. Room 6 used as a smithy. Room re-modelled, much larger timber structures in courtyard area to rear, former townhouse rooms to rear demolished. Coin hoard of c. AD 333.	Higgins *et al.* 2009: 143-199
workshop	Vine Street, Building F, P.4.6, *Insula* V	AD 350 - 400?	Modified earlier building to more compact strip building on street-front. 6 rooms. Bone working waste, pits and well to rear.	Higgins *et al.* 2009: 143-199
street	Freeschool Lane, *Insula* XVII	AD 380 - 410+	4 hearths, and other small pits cut into the edge of the street, dated by coins to AD 375+.	Coward and Speed 2009: 28
street	Redcross Street 1962-3, *Insula* XXVIII	AD 300 - 410+	Two shallow pits cut into street metalling. A channel 0.8m wide, 0.5m deep, a later channel cuts this. The latter channel is on a broadly similar alignment to the street. Perhaps these represent a beam-slot building.	Clay and Pollard 1994: 24-36
street	Vine Street, *Insulae* X & XI	AD 275 - 325	Re-cut roadside ditches, and boundary wall added, *c*. AD 300.	Higgins *et al.* 2009: 145
dark earth	*forum*, *Insula* XXIIa	AD 300 - 410+	Soils over street to the south of the *forum*.	Hebdich and Mellor 1973; Hagar 2007: 5
dark earth	Freeschool Lane, *Insula* XVII	AD 367 - 410+	Soil build up over empty area. Opposite *macellum* in centre of town. Late 4th century coins and pottery, plus early Saxon finds.	Coward and Speed 2009: 37

dark earth	Redcross Street 1962-3, *Insula* XXVIII	AD 300 - 410+	Dark earth deposit within former 3rd century masonry building, close to *forum* on south side.	Clay and Pollard 1994: 24-36
dark earth	St. Nicholas Place, 9 2003, *Insula* XXIIb	AD 300 - 400	Dark earth soils close to Roman street.	Kipling 2010: 25
dark earth	Vaughan Way, *Insula* XVII	AD 300 -400	Soils over 3rd century gravel surfaces, some pitting. Evidence for ditch property boundaries aligned with street grid.	Gnanaratnam 2009: 47
findspot	St. Nicholas Circle	AD 300 -400	Roman brick, *pedalis* (measuring 0.28 by 0.25 by 0.05 m) was found in 1973 residually in a medieval pit in excavations at St. Nicholas Circle. The pit cut through a Roman street south of the south range of the *forum*. This was inscribed with a chi rho.	Hebditch and Mellor 1973
church?	Newarke St	AD 375 - ?	Two structures were recorded within cemetery, Structure 1 was post and beam construction (4.8m wide and over 5m long), contained no burials (and burials around it respected it). Structure 2 was post-built and on the same orientation as Structure 1; it contained 2 burials. These could be mausolea, or even a church. 22 burials with a 'Christian character'.	Derrick 2009: 79-80, 97
cemetery	South Gate	AD 300 -400	Multiple inhumation burials without gravegoods, east-west oriented.	Derrick 2009; L. Cooper 1996
cemetery	East Gate	AD 300 -400	Multiple inhumation burials without gravegoods, east-west oriented.	Dare 1927; Gardner 2005
cemetery	West Gate (Western Road)	AD 300 -400	Inhumation burials without gravegoods, east-west oriented replace earlier north-south aligned burials.	R. Buckley pers comm.

TABLE 18: LEICESTER: 5TH- TO 6TH-CENTURY SETTLEMENT EVIDENCE

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATE	NOTES	REFERENCE
building	Freeschool Lane, Area 1	AD 450 - 600	SFB, two-post structure, built next to Roman street over collapsed wall and dark earth. 2.66m x 2.2m, 0.51m deep.	Speed 2005; Coward and Speed 2009: 48
building	Freeschool Lane, Area 7	AD 450 - 600	SFB, two-post structure, built next to Roman street. 3.8m x 2.9m, 0.1m deep. 14 sherds of Saxon pottery, lots of residual Roman pottery.	Speed 2005; Coward and Speed 2009: 62
building	Sanvey Gate a	AD 450 - 600	SFB-hall, built alongside a Roman street. 7 or 8 post-holes with re-used Roman material as packing defined a U-shaped structure 4.6m x 2m. Post-holes 0.8m wide, 0.56m deep. Roman pottery recovered, cuts late Roman phases.	Jarvis 2012: 63-64
building	Sanvey Gate b	AD 450 - 600	SFB, built alongside Roman street. SFB 1.9m x 1.7m 0.25m thick, close to post-hole, 19 sherds of Saxon pottery from post-hole.	Jarvis 2012: 63-64
building	Sanvey Gate c	AD 450 - 600	SFB, built alongside Roman street. Two post-holes 3.5m apart, could be a structure. A large pit found close by contained pottery of Saxon date.	Jarvis 2012: 63-64
building	Vaughan Way a	AD 450 - 600	SFB, close to edge of Roman quarry. Poorly defined structure, post hole at one end and a series of stake-holes in the base. 4 sherds early Saxon pottery. 2m x 1.3m, 0.2m deep.	Gnanaratnum 2009: 33
building	Vaughan Way b	AD 450 - 600	SFB, poorly defined. 2.9m x 1.4m, 0.2m deep, 1 sherd of pottery.	Gnanaratnum 2009: 33
building	Vine Street (*Insula IV*)	AD 450 - 600	Timber structure, aligned with Roman street, 10m x 5.5m, squared post-holes. Finds of Roman date, 2 sherds of early Saxon pottery close by.	Higgins *et al.* 2009: 70
building	Oxford Street Republic Car Park 1998	AD 450 - 600	SFB, located 200m south of town, close to Roman street. Badly truncated by medieval pits and modern service trenches, 3m by 2.25m, 0.10m deep. two sherds from building, further 6 sherds in later residual contexts.	Gossip 1999a: 28

building	Bonner's Lane	AD 450 - 700	SFB-hall 'hybrid', located 200m south of town, close to Roman street (rear of 4th century building). 5.54m x 3.5m+, 0.25m deep. Hybrid-form between SFB and hall styles, 37 sherds of Saxon pottery. 19 from building. Bone comb given early 6th century date in report, Ian Riddlar (pers. comm.) thinks 7th century.	Finn 1994, 2002b, 2004: 15
building	DeMontfort University	AD 450 - 700	SFB-hall 'hybrid', located 200m south of town, close to Roman street. Very badly truncated remains, 2.8m x 1.1m, 0.2m deep, 4 post-holes around the edge, 2 more post-holes on west-edge. Irregular scatter of stake-holes. Similar to Bonner's Lane. Late Roman pottery from one post-hole, 1 intrusive medieval sherd also. 4 sherds of residual pottery from site.	Morris 2010: 47
findspot	Bath Lane, merlin works	AD 450 - 600	A residual sherd of early Anglo-Saxon pottery from an evaluation.	Kipling forthcoming; Priest 2005: 47
findspot	Bradgate Street	AD 450 - 600	Small-long Brooch from Abbey Park. 71.5mm length, short catch plate just below the lower pin attachment mostly covered in iron rust. Anglo-Saxon bronze cruciform brooch with dot and circle decoration.	Rutland 1975: 55 no.41
findspot	Butt Close Lane 1828	AD 450 - 600	Anglo-Saxon brooch, annular fibulae early Saxon.	HER MLC987
findspot	Butt Close Lane, N. 1858	AD 450 - 600	9 Anglo-Saxon artefacts found in *c*. 1858. Found on edge of Roman well (not within it). Location is likely within walls in very NE corner of town, not on Butt Close.	HER MLC0038
findspot	Causeway Lane (Structure K)	AD 450 - 600	Anglo-Saxon pottery (28 sherds), and beating pin, all residual in later features.	Connor and Buckley 1999:43
findspot	Freeschool Lane	AD 450 - 600	Anglo-Saxon pottery, residual in later features.	Speed 2005; Coward and Speed 2009: 48
findspot	St. Nicholas Street 1964	AD 450 - 600	Pierced disc, possible coin of c.AD 260 reused in Anglo-Saxon period.	Hebditch and Mellor 1973: 17
findspot	Friar Lane 1937	AD 450 - 700	Part of Anglian urn found at corner of Greyfriars and Friar Lane (council offices).	HER No. 42.1937
findspot	Friar Lane 1939	AD 450 - 600	Single sherd of early Anglo-Saxon pottery from defences excavation.	Buckley and Lucas 1987 (site 8)
findspot	Greyfriars County Council Offices	AD 450 - 600	Early Saxon pottery, Anglian urn, plain.	HER LA.42.1937.0.0
findspot	Guildhall Lane Bell's Site	AD 450 - 600	Bone object, tapers to quite a fine point, point curves upwards. 121 mm x 8 mm x 8 mm.	HER LA355.1957.3.0
findspot	High Street 45 1901	AD 450 - 600	Anglo-Saxon urn found at 45 High Street. Everted rim, shouldered form. plain decoration.	HER 16.1939
findspot	Highcross St	AD 450 - 600	Sherd of Saxon Pottery from High St/Highcross St. 73 mm x 70 mm.	HER L.A135.1987.1.98
findspot	Highcross St	AD 450 - 600	A roughly made bone object which is broader at one end than the other. The broader end forms a triangular shape and may be the result of a fracture. 98 mm x 13 mm-6 mm	HER La201.1987.3.0
findspot	Highcross Street 1864a no25	AD 450 - 600	Anglo-Saxon annular brooch. Horwood (1911) gives an early Saxon date.	HER MLC992; Rutland 1975: 57
findspot	Highcross Street 1864b no25	AD 450 - 600	Annular brooch, two rings of decoration.	HER LA58.1864.2.0
findspot	Highcross Street 1887 Gaol	AD 450 - 600	Pin beater, 142mm x 5-9mm, or could be an awl or stylus.	HER L.A3420.1887.0.0
findspot	Holy Bones 1963	AD 450 - 600	Single sherd Anglo-Saxon pottery.	HER L.A3420.1964.1.0
findspot	Jewry Wall 1907	AD 500 - 700	Black glass object with red and white spots found near Jewry Wall before 1907. Exhibited in 1946 as 6th or 7th century, Rutland notes that 'LM records suggest it might be Roman but it cannot now be traced'.	Cotterill 1946: 11; Rutland 1975: 59

findspot	Jewry Wall 1938a	AD 450 - 600	Anglo-Saxon bone comb from Jewry Wall excavation.	Kenyon 1948
findspot	Jewry Wall 1938b	AD 450 - 600	Mid-5th century strap-end. Or is it late Roman? In Germanic style.	Cotterill 1946: 11; Kenyon 1948: 37, 255
findspot	Jewry Wall 1938c	AD 450 - 600	A late Roman Buckle plate in Germanic style was found in a disturbed layer.	Kenyon 1948: 255, fig.4 & 84 no.5; Blank 1970: 18.
findspot	Jewry Wall Street	AD 450 - 600	Double-ended bone pin or shuttle 'common on habitation sites'.	Cotterill 1946: 11
findspot	Leicester? Late Roman buckle 1951	AD 400 - 450	A late Roman buckle in Germanic style probably from Leicester.	Rutland 1975: 54
findspot	Little Lane 1988 Structure 9	AD 450 - 600	29 sherds of early Anglo-Saxon pottery.	HER MLC1563; Lucas and Buckley 2007
findspot	Macellum Blue Boar Lane 1958	AD 450 - 600	Three sherds of hand-made Anglo-Saxon pottery, two sherds are from phase 3 (main *macellum* phase), the other residual from phase 6 medieval robbing.	Wacher 1958; N. Cooper forthcoming
findspot	Macellum Highcross Street 2003	AD 450 - 600	1 sherd of early Anglo-Saxon pottery from later layers.	Derrick 2005: 25
findspot	Mill Lane 2001	AD 450 - 600	A single sherd of Anglo-Saxon pottery from Civil War defences ditch.	Finn 2002a: 5
findspot	Oxford Street 85-89	AD 450 - 600	Possible early Anglo-Saxon pottery in ditch.	Clarke 2003: 8
findspot	Oxford Street, Bowling Green Pub	AD 450 - 600	1 sherd of Anglo-Saxon pot in later features.	Higgins 1996: 15
findspot	Pockingtons Walk 5 1882	7th C	Anglo-Saxon loomweight. Bob Rutland and Pete Liddle (pers. comm.) date this to mid-Saxon. 95 mm, hole diameter: 33 mm.	HER MLC998
findspot	Redcross Street 1962-3	5th - 6th C	Early Anglo-Saxon pottery sherd residual in later medieval feature.	Clay and Pollard 1994: 24-36
findspot	Southgates Underpass 1966	AD 450 - 600	Single sherd of Anglo-Saxon pottery.	MLC996, Buckley and Lucas 1987 (site 13)
findspot	St. Nicholas Circle, 72 2005	AD 450 - 600	7 sherds of early Anglo-Saxon pottery.	Priest 2006: 44
findspot	St. Nicholas Place 1971	AD 600 - 700	1 sherd of Anglo-Saxon pottery.	Hagar 2007: 6
findspot	St. Peters Lane 1988	AD 450 - 600	Anglo-Saxon finds in later layers. 55 sherds of Anglo-Saxon pottery, comb - early 5th century at the latest, weaving equipment (pin beater).	Buckley and Lucas forthcoming; I. Riddler pers comm.; MLC1563
findspot	Vaughan Way	AD 450 - 600	Nine residual Anglo-Saxon pottery sherds, two Anglo-Saxon brooches. One cruciform, short-long.	Gnanaratnum 2009
findspot	Vine Street (*Insula* iv)	AD 450 - 600	18 sherds of early Saxon pottery found residually across site.	Higgins *et al.* 2009: 70
findspot	Westcotes 1894	AD 450 - 600	Brooch Aberg group III. length: 122 mm (max); width: 60 mm (max).	HER LA 1.1894.0.0
findspot	Westcotes 1894 Saxon Street	AD 450 - 600	Plain sherd of Anglo-Saxon pottery, found opposite former site of Westcotes Hall.	HER MLC1005; 50SE EL
burial	12 Belgrave Gate 1871	AD 450 - 600	Saxon burial? On the site of Stead & Simpson's warehouse. Pottery fragmentary of early 5th century type.	Cotterill 1946: 12 no.22; Blank 1970: 32
burial	Eastgates Saxon burials	AD 450 - 600	Cinerary urn outside East Gate 'early 5th century'	Blank 1970: 25
burial	Mansfield Street 1896	AD 450 - 600	Early Anglo-Saxon urn with stamped decoration, found at a depth of 13ft in Mansfield St in 1896.	HER MLC988; Blank 1970:25; Rutland 1975: 60.

burial?	Westcotes 1894	AD 450 - 600	Anglo-Saxon pottery, 90 mm, shouldered form, everted rim, plain decoration, surface burnished. From burial?	HER LA 7.1894.0.0
burial?	Westcotes 1903 1	AD 450 - 600	Anglo-Saxon sword blade. 300 mm x 40 mm x 2 mm. affected by corrosion. From burial?	HER LA 8.1903.1.0
burial?	Westcotes 1903 2	AD 450 - 600	Anglo-Saxon sword blade. 362 mm x 40 mm-9 mm x 2 mm. Very long with parts of the edges missing. From burial?	HER LA 8.1903.2.0
burial?	Westcotes 1903 3	AD 450 - 600	Anglo-Saxon sword blade. 434 mm x 42 mm x 3 mm-1 mm, tang 70 mm x 28 mm-3 mm. From burial?	HER LA 8.1903.3.0
burial?	Westcotes 1903 4	AD 450 - 600	Anglo-Saxon sword blade. 230 mm x 44 mm-15 mm x 3 mm. From burial?	HER LA 8.1903.4.0

Table 19: Lincoln: 4th-century settlement evidence

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATES	NOTES	REFERENCE
defences (upper city)	-	AD 300+	Late Roman alteration to town defences. Wall heightened and thickened, ditch widened.	Jones 2003: 88
defences (lower city)	-	AD 300+	Alterations: repairs with reused building materials and tombstones. New gate added.	Jones 2003: 88
forum	St. Paul-in-the-Bail	AD 300 - 400	Roman *Forum*, in use to late 4th century, some areas later. Metalworking.	Steane 2006
baths	Bailgate	AD 200 - 350	Continued in use, up to AD 350. Quality of evidence poor.	Jones 2003: 127
basilican hall	Flaxengate	AD 300 - ?	Large building, 25 x 15m. Apse at E-end. Only NE area excavated, everything else conjecture.	Jones 2003: 89
building	Flaxengate	AD 300 - ?	Large masonry townhouse.	Jones 2003: 92
building	Grantham Street	AD 300-410+	Large masonry townhouse with late additions.	Jones 2003: 91
building	Hungate	AD 100 - 370	Large masonry building, with central courtyard from 2nd - 3rd century, up to late 4th century.	Darling and Vince 1992, Jones 2003: 92
building	Saltergate	AD 300 - ?	Large masonry building, 30m square building. Hypocaust, window glass, extensions from earlier building, large garden area with pond.	Jones 2003: 92
building	Spring Hill	AD 200 - 370	Late Roman townhouse abandoned, but some activity of uncertain type occurring. 12 rooms, hypocaust.	Darling and Vince 1992; Jones 2003: 92
building	Swan Street	AD 300 - 410+	Large masonry townhouse.	Jones 2003: 91
building	Hungate	AD 370 - 410+	Timber building, shallow scoops seen in dark earth could be timber structures.	Darling and Vince 1992: 367
church?	St. Paul-in-the-Bail	AD 300 - 410+	Timber structure built in piazza of *forum*. Possible church.	Gilmour 1979; Steane 2006
industrial activity	West Parade	AD 300 - 410+	Trader's residence expanded. Industrial activity only in 4th century.	Jones 2003: 91
industrial activity	Flaxengate	AD 300 - 410+	Iron working.	Jones 2003: 91
industrial activity	Saltergate	AD 300 - 410+	Iron working.	Jones 2003: 91
quay	Waterside Shopping Centre	AD 300 - 410+	Late Roman riverside re-modelling.	Jones 2003: 94
dark earth	Flaxengate	AD 375 - 410+	Open area adjacent to late building. Late 4th-century dumped deposits, butchery waste, animal bones.	Selkirk 1992
dark earth	Hungate	AD 100 - 400	Dark earth over demolished building.	Darling and Vince 1992: 367
dark earth	The Park	AD 300 - 410+	Dumps of waste, close to rampart.	Jones 2003: 87

dark earth	Waterside North	AD 300 - 410+	Dumps of waste, 500+ coins almost all late Roman, lots of other artefacts.	Jones 2003: 91

TABLE 20: LINCOLN: 5TH- TO 6TH-CENTURY SETTLEMENT EVIDENCE

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATES	NOTES	REFERENCE
findspot	East Bight.	AD 450 - 600	5 sherds of early Anglo-Saxon pottery.	Young and Vince 2006: 27-36
findspot	Lawn Hospital 1984. LH84.	AD 450 - 600	Early Anglo-Saxon pottery, some possibly from Charnwood (Leicestershire), others regionally produced.	Young and Vince 2006: 27-36
findspot	St. Paul-in-the-Bail	AD 450 - 600	1 sherd of locally produced early Anglo-Saxon pottery.	Young and Vince 2006: 27-36
findspot	Langworthgate 1989. LG89	AD 450 - 600	1 sherd, regionally produced early Anglo-Saxon pottery.	Young and Vince 2006: 27-36
findspot	East Bight 1953. EB53.	AD 450 - 600	1 sherd, regionally produced early Anglo-Saxon pottery.	Young and Vince 2006: 27-36
findspot	East Bight 1970. EB70	AD 450 - 600	3 sherds, regional and locally produced early Anglo-Saxon pottery.	Young and Vince 2006: 27-36
findspot	Steep Hill 1974. SH74.	AD 450 - 600	1 sherd, non-local early Anglo-Saxon pottery.	Young and Vince 2006: 27-36
findspot	Waterside NW WNW88	AD 450 - 600	1 sherd, locally produced early Anglo-Saxon pottery.	Young and Vince 2006: 27-36
findspot	Woolworths Basement. W089	AD 450 - 600	1 sherd, locally produced early Anglo-Saxon pottery.	Young and Vince 2006: 27-36
findspot	Flaxengate	AD 450 - 600	5 vessels of early Anglo-Saxon pottery, 1 locally produced.	Young and Vince 2006: 27-36
findspot	Slatergate	AD 450 - 600	1 sherd of locally produced early Anglo-Saxon pottery in a disused hypocaust. Only stratified Anglo-Saxon pottery from the city!	Young and Vince 2006: 31
findspot	West Bight	AD 500 - 600	4 sherds of early Anglo-Saxon pottery, chaff-tempered could be 6th century, regional production.	Young and Vince 2006: 27-36
findspot	Flaxengate	AD 600 - 650	4 sherds of locally produced early middle Anglo-Saxon pottery.	Young and Vince 2006: 27-36
findspot	Slatergate	AD 600 - 650	4 sherds of locally produced early middle Anglo-Saxon pottery.	Young and Vince 2006: 27-36
building	Bus Station, 2009	AD 600 - 800	SFB and pottery.	City of Lincoln Council 2012
findspot	Melville Street, 2010	AD 600 - 800	mid Anglo-Saxon pottery.	City of Lincoln Council 2012

Table 21: London: 4th-century settlement evidence

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATES	NOTES	REFERENCE
town defences	landward	185-225	External towers added.	Butler 2001; Hall and Merrifield 1986: 14; Norman 1904; Norman and Reader 1912; Marsden 1967; Parnell 1982; Perring 1991: 127; Lyon 2007: 148
town defences	riverside	AD 300 - 325	Section of wall rebuilt.	Milne 1985: 33
forum		AD 300 - 325	*Basilica* demolished, apse left standing, incorporated into a new structure.	Philp 1977, Milne 1992: 29
amphitheatre		AD 300 - 350	Modified *c.* AD 300, robbed from AD 365 onwards. Dark earth and 3 inhumations follow (see below).	Bateman *et al.* 2009: 91-92
church?	Colchester House, Tower Hill	AD 350 - 410+	Excavated in 1992-1993 to the NW of Tower Hill, large aisled building, very fragmentary remains, foundations 2m deep, 50m wide, 80-100 long. Floor covered in thin stone slabs, marble fragments and window glass. Church, or barn, or state warehouse?	Sankey 1998: 78-82
mansio	Newgate	AD 310 - 400?	An octagonal Romano-Celtic temple, 570sqm. Demolished AD 300-15. A 9 room mansio replaced it.	Perring 1991: 113
temple	Mithraeum	AD 175 - 375	Early 4th-century major alterations, structure then rebuilt and re-floored (latest coins AD 341-46).	Perring 1991: 113
building	1 Poultry	AD 100 - 400	Masonry building with mosaic floor replaced with floor using roof tile.	Rowsome 2000:47
building	Billingsgate	AD 300 - 410 ?	Masonry building.	Perring 1991: 127
building	Harp Lane	AD 250 - 350	3rd-century building in use to AD 350-400, then demolition dumps.	Richardson 1988: 382-387
building	Leadenhall Court	AD 200 - 325	Demolished in early 3rd century.	Brigham 1990b: 53
building	Lime Street (Lloyds)	AD 300 - 410 ?	Masonry building built over earlier 3rd-century building. Heated rooms.	Merrifield 1955: 113-134
building	25-30 Lime Street	AD 300 - 350	Large masonry building, destroyed by fire.	Williams 1984: 426-430
building	Newgate	AD 300 – 400	masonry building, demolished.	Heathcote 1989: 46-53
building	Peters Hill	AD 350 - 410 ?	Domestic masonry building, part in timber, partially reusing earlier public building. Built after AD 350, in use into early 5th century?	Williams 1993: 32
building	Pudding Lane	AD 300 - 400	Masonry building, in decay by AD 350.	Milne 1985: 140-141
intra-mural burial	amphitheatre	AD 365 - 420	3 inhumations (AD 365-420), in area of dark earth, open space.	Bateman *et al.* 2009: 92
intra-mural burial	Paternoster Square	AD 300 - 400	5 inhumations, open space by major road.	Bateman *et al.* 2009: 92; Sheppard 1988a; Watson and Heard 2006
intra-mural burial	Baltic House	AD 300 - 400	1 late 4th-century inhumation.	Bateman *et al.* 2009: 92

intra-mural burial	1 Poultry	AD 300 - 400	Semi-articulated human bone in roadside ditch, unlikely to have been deliberate inhumation.	Bateman *et al.* 2009: 92
dark earth	Austin Friars church	AD 300 - 400	Close to stream off Walbrook.	Watson 1998a: 102
dark earth	King Edward Buildings (west yard)	AD 300 - 400	Outside of Newgate.	Watson 1998a: 102
dark earth	36-37 King St	AD 300 - 400	4th-century dark earth.	Watson 1998a: 102
dark earth	106 Milk St	AD 300 - 400	4th-century dark earth.	Watson 1998a: 102
dark earth	Rangoon St	AD 300 - 400	Close to stream East Gate.	Watson 1998a: 102
dark earth	71 Fenchurch St (Lloyds Register)	AD 300 - 400	Dark earth over 3rd-century masonry building.	Brigham 2006
dark earth	13-21 Eastcheap	AD 350 - 400	Mid-late 4th century dark earth overlying building.	Blair and Sankey 2007
dark earth	Monument House	AD 350 - 400	Mid-late 4th century dark earth overlying building.	Blair and Sankey 2007
dark earth	25 Cannon St	AD 350 - 400	Mid-late 4th century dark earth overlying building.	Elsden 2002
dark earth	Merrill Lynch Financial Centre, Newgate	AD 200 - 400	Late 2nd to 4th century dark earth over open area, rubbish tip for people living further south, closer to main street.	Lyon 2007
dark earth	7 Bishopsgate	AD 350+	Dark earth dumped and filled intrusions, later major reworking AD 350+ from earthworm burrowing through masonry buildings.	Sankey 2002
suburb	Southwark	AD 350+	Dark earth over abandoned buildings.	Cowan 2003, 2009; Mackinder 2000
suburban burials and settlement	St. Martin-in-the-Fields	AD 450+	Late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon suburban settlement (buildings & pits).	Burton 2007; Telfer 2008

TABLE 22: LONDON: 5TH- TO 6TH-CENTURY SETTLEMENT EVIDENCE

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATES	NOTES	REFERENCE
building	Lower Thames Street, Billingsgate	AD 388 - 402	Masonry building, latest coins scattered on furnace room floor, 200 coins of Theodosian (AD 388-402). Pottery sherd of 5th century from Mediterranean under furnace ashes.	Perring 1991: 128; Hall and Merrifield 1986: 14-16; Miller *et al*. 1986
building SFB	Pudding Lane	AD 450 - 600	Sunken-Featured Building within a shell of a Roman building.	Bateman and Milne 1983; Perring 1991: 128
findspot	Billingsgate	AD 450 - 600	1 sherd of early Saxon pottery (from Charnwood, Leicester - or Scandinavia!).	Cowie 2008: 50
findspot	Lower Thames Street, Billingsgate	AD 450	Mid-5th-century saucer brooch found among fallen roof tiles in *frigidarium* of Roman bath house (only stratified 5th- / 6th-century find within the intra-mural area).	Perring 1991: 128; Hall and Merrifield 1986: 14-16
findspot	Queenhithe	AD 500 - 600	Fragments of a bracteate (pendent) from foreshore at Queenhithe.	Cowie 2008: 50
findspot	Guildhall	AD 500 - 600	Buckle.	Egan 2007: 447
findspot	Custom House	AD 500 - 600	Buckle.	Cowie 2008: 50

findspot	Barbican	AD 500 - 600	Buckle.	Cowie 2008: 51
findspot	1 Poultry	AD 500 - 600	Spearhead.	Cowie 2008: 52
findspot	uncertain	AD 500 - 700	Frankish pots x3, location uncertain.	Vince 1990: 11-12
findspot	St. Paul's	AD 500 - 700	Residual sherds of chaff-tempered pottery from several sites south of St. Paul's.	Cowie 2001: 196; Cowie 2008: 50
settlement & burials	St. Martin-in-the-Fields	AD 450+	Early Anglo-Saxon settlement, origins of mid-Saxon London (buildings and pits).	Blackmore *et al.* 2004; Bowsher and Malcolm 1999; Burton 2007; Cowie and Whytehead 1989; Capon 2006; Taylor 2004;Telfer 2008, 2010

Table 23: Silchester: 4th-century settlement evidence

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATES	NOTES	REFERENCE
town defences	-	AD 260 - 350	Stone wall added, circuit length 2.5km. 4.5m high at South Gate, may have been 6m. Bank enlarged, new wide ditch, no evidence for bastions. After AD 350 some gates blocked.	Fulford 1984: 74-6; Fulford 2002: 15
forum-basilica	-	AD 150 - 410+ ?	Stone *forum* built around the middle of the 2nd century. From mid 3rd century for *c.* 150 years *basilica* reused for metalworking, iron-smithing, bronze-working.	Fulford and Timby 2000
baths	-	AD 300 - 410+ ?	*c.*300 baths partly demolished and reconstructed. New apse added in *caldarium*, AD 320-380 apodyterium re-floored. After AD 340 new *caldarium* demolished, additions to tepidarium and old *caldarium*, and further major works.	Boon 1974: 130
amphitheatre	-	AD 300 - 350	*c.*300 dumping and resurfacing in arena, abandoned by AD 350.	Fulford 1989: 57-8
building	*Insula* I	AD 300 - ?	Building I.1 townhouse with coins to Honorius.	Boon 1974: 73
building	*Insula* IX	AD 300 - 500	Two-story masonry structure, 17.5m by 5m, three rooms, workshop and living accommodation. Extended corridor and portico, 4th century pottery, animal bones, and slag. Re-built in the late 4th century, after AD 364-367.	Fulford *et al.* 2006: 21
building	*Insula* IX	AD 300 - 500	Masonry structure, north of Building 1, single-story, 18m by 6m.	Fulford *et al.* 2006: 27
building	*Insula* IX	AD 400 - 424	Post-built timber structure of three phases, series of large post-pits. Iron-forging hearth archaeomagnetically dated to AD 314-424.	Clarke and Fulford 2002: 152; Fulford *et al.* 2006: 60
building	*Insula* IX	AD 300 - 500	Small timber-framed structure, poorly defined, 7.2m by 4.4m.	Fulford *et al.* 2006: 55
building	*Insula* XIV	AD 100 - ?	Building XIV.I 2nd century townhouse with "crudely patched" floors could indicate use in the 4th century.	Boon 1974: 73
building	*Insula* XIV	AD 300 - ?	Building XIV.2 townhouse with 'richly floored gallery'.	Boon 1974: 73
building	*Insula* XXIII	AD 300 - ?	Building XXIII.1 townhouse with mosaic.	Boon 1974: 73
building	*Insula* XXIV	AD 300 - ?	Building XXIV.2 townhouse with 4th-century mosaic.	Boon 1974: 73
building	*Insula* XXVII	AD 100 - ?	Building XXVII.1 2nd-century townhouse with 'crudely patched' floors, also 4th-century mosaics.	Boon 1974: 73
building	*Insula* XXXIV	AD 300 - ?	Building XXXIV.1 townhouse with large but crude mosaic, coins to Arcadius.	Boon 1974: 73
church?	*Insula* IV	AD 300 - ?	A small building just to the south of the *forum* 13 x 9m. Apse at west-end, porch at east-end. Mosaic floor, possible setting for font.	Cosh 2004: 229

Table 24: Silchester: 5th- to 6th-century settlement evidence

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATES	NOTES	REFERENCE
building	*Insula* IX, Building 1	AD 300 - 500	'Roman' -style building, workshop area. Extended to the north.	Fulford *et al.* 2006: 43
building	*Insula* IX, Building 5	AD 300 - 500	'Roman'-style building in use.	Fulford *et al.* 2006: 43
building	*Insula* IX, Building 7	AD 300 - 500	'Roman'-style building in use.	Fulford *et al.* 2006: 43
building	*Insula* IX, Building 8	AD 300 - 500	'Roman'-style building in use.	Fulford *et al.* 2006: 43
findspot	*Insula* IX	*c.* AD 500	A damaged dwarf column of sandstone with a ogham inscription: 'Tebicato[s] [maqu]i muco[i...]'. Listed as: 'Ebicatos / [ma]qi muco [i(...)] in Boon 1974. Found within a well between Buildings 1 & 2. '(...) of Tebicatus, son of the tribe of N'	Fox and Hope 1894: 233-237; Clarke and Fulford 2002: 148; Fulford *et al.* 2006: 46
findspot	outer earthwork	AD 500 - 600	Hoard of siliquae and jewellery.	Fulford *et al.* 1989: 219
findspot	North Gate	AD 420 - 570	Human bone in town ditch, five locations near to the North Gate. Cranium C14-dated to AD 420-540 or AD 340-570.	Fulford 2000: 357
findspot	basilica	AD 400 - 700	Window glass within the *basilica*.	Fulford 2000: 357

Table 25: Winchester: 4th-century settlement evidence

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATES	NOTES	REFERENCE
town defences	-	AD 350	Stone wall (3rd century?), External towers added (AD 350) and new ditch. One bastion partly investigated at South Gate. Another south of West Gate (Biddle 1984: 112). Unlikely that entire circuit provided with bastions.	Biddle 1975b: 110-7; Biddle 1984: 112; Wacher 1995: 295
forum-basilica	Wessex Hotel / Cathedral Green	AD 275 - 400	Poorly investigated, AD 275-300 parts of main complex and most of south extension abandoned. AD 300-350 major works, internal changes in main complex. AD 350-400 some occupation then decay and abandonment.	Biddle and Quirk 1962: 153-5; Biddle 1969: 313-6; Biddle 1970: 312; Teague 1988: 6-8; Teague 1989: 3; Wacher 1995: 295
building	The Brooks 1987-88. VIII.9a 9b	AD 300 - 370s	2nd-century building demolished and replaced in AD 300 by an L-shaped house, expanded to courtyard style building AD 320-350. Masonry footings, timber superstructure. High-status - mosaics, heating systems, painted wall plaster. Cess pits of very late 4th or early 5th-century date are latest activity.	Zant 1993: 83-127
building	The Brooks 1987-88. XXIII.3	AD 300 - 370s	Masonry winged-corridor building across the street from VIIII.9a. Hypocaust. 80 by 45 Roman feet. Partition and hearths inserted into corridor in later 4th century. Charcoal-rich silts over corridor floor, dates to AD 360-370 prior to building demolition.	Zant 1993: 126
building	The Brooks 1987-88. XXIII.2	AD 300 - 364	Masonry single-corridor house replaces 2nd-century double-corridor house. Rooms divided, occupation soils, hearth added and crude mortar repairs.	Zant 1993: 83-127
building	The Brooks 1987-88. VIII.1	AD 300 - 370s	Large courtyard house (30m by 46m?), enlarged and refurbished after AD 364 (coin of Valens). Coin may be intrusive, this would put the building back to AD 330. Report argues for later date as demolition layers date to late 4th century.	Zant 1993: 83-127
building	The Brooks 1987-88. VIII.15	AD 325 - 370	Timber building. One phase of flooring, continues to stand amongst accumulated dark earth.	Zant 1993: 126, 155
building	Cathedral Car Park, Building 1 1961	AD 300 - 350	Part of one room of building.	Biddle and Quirk 1964: 156-7

building	107 High Street 1975, Building 7	AD 350 - 400	Small building.	Qualmann 1975: 64-7
building	118-121 High Street 1989 a	AD 200 - 400	Part of building.	Zant 1990: 2-6
building	118-121 High Street 1989 b	AD 200 - 400	Part of building.	Zant 1990: 2-6
building	118-121 High Street 1989 c	AD 200 - 400	Part of building.	Zant 1990: 2-6
building	126 High Street 1986	AD 100 - 350	Medium-sized building.	Winchester UAD
building	27 Jewry Street 1984	AD 300 - 400	Two rooms of building.	Winchester UAD
building	Lower Brook Street 1962-1971	AD 300 - 400	Small building, built after destruction of temple, 3/4 rooms, courtyard onto street. The room later subdivided, hearth bronze found, no evidence for bronze-working.	Biddle 1975b: 299-301
building	1-3 Staple Gardens 1989 a	AD 350-400	Part of building.	Winchester UAD
building	28-29 Staple Gardens 1989	AD 350 - 450	Part of building.	Winchester UAD
building	St. George's St: The George Hotel	AD 150 - 305	Part of one room of building. May have still been in use in 4th century.	Cunliffe 1964: 33
building	St. George's St: Kingdom's Workshop	AD 270 - 350?	Part of one room of building. Earlier building demolished and replaced by a new masonry building. Part of one room excavated, contained hypocaust. A later phase shows the heating system went out of use and was replaced by a plain mortar floor. Fell into disrepair by mid-4th century.	Cunliffe 1964: 42
building	Wolvesey Palace, Building 1 1962-71	AD 200 - 425?	Four rooms of a building, mosaics.	Biddle 1968: 281-2
building	Wolvesey Palace, Building 2 1962-71	AD 200 - 350	Three rooms of a building.	Biddle 1968: 281-2
building	The Brooks 1987-88. Phase 54	AD 364 - 425?	Compact rubble spreads overlay final street metalling (coin AD 364). Could have been crude re-surfacing, or base of timber structures.	Zant 1993: 151
building	Cathedral Green 1962-67	AD 375 - 425?	Compact rubble spreads overlay east-west street, perhaps hardstanding for structure or crude metalling. Cobbles delimited by 4 postholes of two phases. All late Roman pottery found with this.	Biddle 1964: 206
building	Winchester Library	AD 300 - 400?	Posthole on Roman street with late Roman pottery and a barbarous radiate (AD 270-90). Indicates a structure encroaching slightly onto the street.	Teague 2007: 10
building	Tower St, Frederick Place	AD 300 - 350	Part of one room of building. A timber building, dark soil over ashy occupation has coin of Crispus (AD 324-326).	Collis 1978: 165-177
industrial activity	The Brooks 1987-88. XXIII.1	AD 370 - 425	Metalworking within the ruins of a large townhouse (VIII.1). Seen in 1950s excavations and The Brooks.	Zant 1993: 83-127
street maintenance	Lower Brook Street 1962-1971	AD 300 - 400	Street repaired and resurfaced throughout the 4th century, seven major surfaces from AD 100 onwards.	Biddle 1975b: 299
street maintenance	The Brooks 1987-88	AD 345 - 375	Street resurfaced and conduit or water-channel inserted early in 2nd half of 4th century.	Zant 1993:150
street maintenance	South Gate	AD 367 - ?	Two street surfaces laid in front of the gate, one contemporary with bastion (Gratian coin).	Biddle 1975a: 116
pitting	The Brooks 1987-88	AD 375 - 425?	Cess pits up against wall of ruinous courtyard townhouse VIII.9b	Zant 1993: 83-127

dark earth	The Brooks 1987-88	AD 375+	Covered a large area, consistent in colour, texture and density. Lots of pottery, coins, metalworking waste. 6% of all pot was post-Roman in date. Soil continued to accumulate into the Saxon period to 9th / 10th centuries. 0.35-0.5m thick, thinner over demolished buildings (0.05-0.1m). No evidence for stratification. Accumulated in mid-4th century in open area between two buildings (VIII.1 and VIII.9). No cultivation,. Stubs of ruined/demolished buildings above the dark earth.	Zant 1993: 147, 155-156
dark earth	Cathedral Green 1962-67	AD 360 - 370S	Thin layer of dark earth overlies street (dated to AD 360s).	Biddle 1964: 206
dark earth	Winchester Library	AD 300 - 400	Dark earth overlay earlier Roman buildings close to street. Pitting on edge of street, latest coin AD 367-75.	Teague 2006: 12
dark earth	19-20 Jewry Street	AD 300 - 400	Dark earth sealed the late Roman features.	McCulloch 2009: 10; and pers. comm.
dark earth	St. George's St: The George Hotel	AD 305+	Dark earth covered building, contained 3rd-and 4th-century pottery and coins (latest Diocletian AD 296-305).	Cunliffe 1964: 33
dark earth	St. George's St: Kingdom's Workshop	AD 350+	Black soil accumulated over the whole area. Lots of mid- to late-4th century coins. Latest AD 388-392 Valentinian II.	Cunliffe 1964: 42
dark earth	Tower St, Frederick Place	AD 325 - 375	Seen across the site. Lots of Roman pottery and coins - latest House of Valentinian (AD 364-378). 'it could represent post-Roman cultivation'.	Collis 1978: 165-177
dark earth	Wolvesey Palace	AD 350+	Dark earth recorded.	Biddle 1968: 281-2
cemetery	Water Lane, St. Martins Close (East Gates)	AD 350+	A building demolished around AD 350 and replaced by a cemetery. 40 burials of 4th-century date at St Martins Close.	Collis 1978: 44-45; James Beaumont 2009: 39
cemetery	Lankhills (North Gate)	AD 320 - 450	Over 800 burials at Lankhills, mainly inhumation. AD 320-400. Isotope analysis shows a mixed population of British and non-British.	Booth *et al.* 2010; Clarke 1978

TABLE 26: WINCHESTER: 5TH- TO 6TH-CENTURY SETTLEMENT EVIDENCE

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATE	NOTES	REFERENCE
findspot	Cathedral Green	AD 450 - 600	Two sherds of residual pottery. A late 5th-century bone comb found in a pit cut into rubble of the south wall of the *forum*, sealed by construction of the 7th-century minster.	Biddle 2007: 194
findspot	Lower Brook St	AD 450 - 600	65 Anglo-Saxon pottery sherds from excavation.	Biddle 1975b: 299-301
horticulture	Lower Brook St	AD 450 - 600	Cultivated plot consisting of linear slots, some running to of edge of street.	Biddle 1975b: 299-301
pitting	Lower Brook St	AD 450 - 600	Several deep pits over former courtyard of Roman building.	Biddle 1975b: 299-301
findspot	South Gate	AD 450 - 600	2 sherds of grass-tempered pottery (5th to 6th century AD).	Biddle 1975a: 116
findspot	Wolvesey	AD 450 - 600	Small quantities of grass-tempered pottery (5th to 6th century AD) found across the excavation site.	Biddle 1975b: 326
findspot	Winchester Library	AD 450 - 600	Single sherd of organic-tempered pottery (5th to 6th century AD) in dark earth.	Teague 2006: 13
findspot	The Winchester Hotel, Worthy Lane	AD 450 - 600	Stave-built bucket (of Anglo-Saxon type) from a grave close to Lankhills.	Wessex Archaeology 2009: 19
documentary	Nunnaminster	AD 450 - 600	A documentary source noting Ealhswith's haja founded the Nunnaminster.	Biddle and Quirk 1961: 321-3; Rumble 2002: 45-9
documentary	Coiteburi	AD 450 - 600	A documentary source noting Coite's residence' (north of east-end of High Street).	Biddle and Quirk 1961: 236

Table 27: Wroxeter: 4th-century settlement evidence

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATES	NOTES	REFERENCE
town defences	-	AD 150+	Ditches modified in the 4th century - to a single cut. Rampart heightened. No evidence for stone defences or bastions.	Ellis and White 2006; White and Barker 1998: 84-87;
forum	west of baths	AD 129 - 300?	*Forum Basilica* excavated by Atkinson 1924-27. Inscription dates construction to AD 129 - 130, 74 x 64m. North section burnt down AD 165-75. End of 3rd century major fire, abandoned. West front shops and courtyard maybe still in use.	Atkinson 1942; White and Barker 1998: 84-87
macellum	south of baths	AD 129 - 400?	In use in 4th century with paths maintained between rooms.	Ellis 2000: 77
baths-basilica	-	AD 120 - 400?	Constructed between AD 120 - 150. Rooms extended AD 200, 74m long. Floor patched after AD 367. Some rooms dismantled.	Barker 1997; Ellis 2000: 77
building	1912	AD 200 - 400	Mid 3rd-century building with 12+ rooms. Could go into 4th century.	Bushe-Fox 1913: 5-8
building	1912	AD 175 400	Small mid 3rd-century building, could go into 4th century.	Bushe-Fox 1913: 8-10
building	1912	AD 250 - 400	Small mid 3rd-century building, could go into 4th century.	Bushe-Fox 1913: 13-17
building	1914	AD 250 - 400	Small mid 3rd-century building, could go into 4th century.	Bushe-Fox 1916: 16-19
building	Forum 1923-1927	AD 300 - 400	Small part of 4th century building.	Atkinson 1942: 109-110
building	1952-3	AD 300 - 400	Large 4th-century building.	Kenyon 1975-76

Table 28: Wroxeter: 5th- to 6th-century settlement evidence

EVIDENCE TYPE	LOCATION	DATE	NOTES	REFERENCE
basilica	baths-basilica	AD 300 - 350	Repairs and modifications.	Barker *et al.* 1997: 224
basilica	baths-basilica	AD 367 - AD 410	Final re-floorings, re-floored throughout three times. (AD 367-75 - coin of Gratian), latest north portico floor (AD 410 - 650 from C14 result).	Barker *et al.* 1997: 226, 240
drainage	baths-basilica	AD 367 - AD 410	Drainage and water supply of *basilica* overhauled.	Barker *et al.* 1997: 228
industrial workroom	baths-basilica	AD 367 - AD 410	Annexe with industrial waste etc found, roof removed and lean-tos added. Reports suggests it was used as workroom for labourer repairing the baths.	Barker *et al.* 1997: 228
building	baths-basilica	AD 410 - 500/550	Lightweight wattle walled structure in east-end of *basilica*. *Basilica* no longer in use as Baths, roof still up. Coins of late 4th century. C14 date on hearth: AD 410 - 650, remnant magnetic date on bread oven: AD 500-550.	Barker *et al.* 1997: 228
building	baths-basilica	AD 410 - 500/550	Another timber structure in east-end of *basilica*. See above.	Barker *et al.* 1997: 228-229
building	baths-basilica	AD 410 - 500/550	Another timber structure in east-end of *basilica*. See above.	Barker *et al.* 1997: 228
demolition, soil dumps	baths-basilica	AD 500 - 660	Buildings at east-end demolished, *basilica* demolished - including roof. Interior buried under dumped soil covered with roofing slates. Paths and worn surfaces. Small building at west-end of south aisle on mortar platform. No other structural evidence. Interpreted as period of ad hoc market. Access controlled by limited door-way access (C14 from charcoal in dump - AD 390 - 660 after AD 500 because of oven date).	Barker *et al.* 1997: 229

building	baths-basilica	AD 550 - 650	The great rebuilding', TAQ AD 790 from burial post-dating phase (95% probability). A number of timber buildings laid out. The largest building consisted of a rubble platform packed with painted plaster and mortar. A massive size, probably two storey. Buildings focused on *basilica* area, no activity on east edge of *Insula* V.	Barker *et al.* 1997: 232-238
buildings	baths-basilica	AD 550 - 650	8 smaller buildings built at the same time, all similar size within the former *basilica*. A further 9 buildings were built outside of the *basilica*, in the portico.	Barker *et al.* 1997: 235
buildings	baths-basilica	AD 550 - 650	9 buildings were built outside of the *basilica*, in the portico.	Barker *et al*. 1997: 235
buildings	baths-basilica	AD 550 - 650	6 small 'booths' on the east - west street. Wooden planking on street. Booths/ shops encroached onto the street.	Barker *et al.* 1997: 234
buildings	baths-basilica	AD 550 - 650	4 buildings south of the portico, 3 of them lean-tos.	Barker *et al.* 1997: 234
buildings	baths-basilica	AD 550 - 650	7 buildings south frontage of *Insula* 2. Row of structures 6m wide each, replaced by 5 buildings, 3 had elaborate porches, similar to the main building on the basilican site.	Barker *et al.* 1997: 234
buildings	baths-basilica	AD 550 - 650	Timber buildings overlying demolished masonry structure east side of the N - S cobble street on *Insula* 6.	Barker *et al.* 1997: 234
buildings	baths-basilica	AD 550 - 650	Timber buildings encroached onto street in N-W corner of *Insula* 2, between *Insulae* 2 and 16. Suggests re-buildings took place over *Insula* 2 also?	Barker *et al.* 1997: 234
building	baths-basilica	AD 550 - 650	Rubble platform seen in *Insula* 9, to south of baths *Insula*.	Barker *et al.* 1997: 234
church or granary	frigidarium	AD 550 - 650	Possible church because 'Old Work' only upstanding wall in entire town. east-west orientated and vaulted roof. 12 burials within surrounding hypocausts, western plunge pool - used as font? Possible granary because burnt wheat found, door blocked, solid floor and roof.	Barker *et al.* 1997: 236

Appendix 2: Additional Data

Table 29: Fora-basilicae with evidence for 4th-century remodelling and / or reuse

TOWN	REMODELLING / REBUILDS	REUSE ACTIVITY	REUSE DATE	DISUSE	REFERENCE
Caerwent	AD 280-340	metalworking	AD 330-360	AD 400+	Brewer 1993: 63-4, 82; Ashby *et al*. 1904: 575-6
Caistor-by-Norwich	AD 300 (completely re-built)	-	-	?	Frere 1971: 12
Canterbury	AD 350-400	-		?	Frere and Bennett 1987: 93-98
Cirencester	AD 364+ (re-floored)	metalworking and gravelled area	AD 350	?	Holbrook 1998: 108, 116; Wacher 1962: 8; Wacher 1995: 314.
Exeter	AD 350	demolished (AD 400), metalworking, burials (AD 450+)	AD 400-450	?	Bidwell 1979:110-111
Gloucester	AD 300+			AD 375-400	Hurst 1972: 58
Leicester	AD 300+	metalworking, fires (AD 350)	AD 350+	AD 400+	Hebditch and Mellor 1973: 18, 42
Lincoln	AD 300, re-flooring	church or temple			Steane and Darling 2006: 286
London	AD 275 repairs	quarry, open area	AD 300	AD 300	Perring 1991: 113
Silchester	AD 395 *forum* resurfaced	Metalworking	AD 250	AD 400+	Fulford and Timby 2000: 73
Verulamium	active?	-	-	?	Niblett and Thompson 2005: 83
Winchester	AD 300 internal alterations	-	-	AD 375+	Biddle 1970: 312
Wroxeter	fire AD 300	west-end in use?	-	AD 300	White and Barker 1998: 112

Table 30: Theatres and amphitheatres in use in the 4th century, and their subsequent reuse

TOWN	THEATRE / AMPHITHEATRE	REBUILT / REPAIRED	LATEST USE	REUSED?	THEATRE / AMPHITHEATRE REFERENCE
CANTERBURY	theatre	AD 300	?	-	Frere 1970: 91
CHICHESTER	amphitheatre	-	AD 300	refuse site	Wilmott 2008: 183
CIRENCESTER	amphitheatre	AD 330-364	AD 350-360	market place (AD 350-400), burials, citadel? (AD 400+)	Holbrook 1998b: 166, 169
DORCHESTER (DORSET)	amphitheatre	c.AD300	?	burials	Bradley 1975: 1-97
LONDON	amphitheatre	c.AD300	AD 364-5	urban wasteland / refuse site, burials (AD 365-420)	Bateman *et al.* 2009: 86, 92
SILCHESTER	amphitheatre	-	AD 350	-	Fulford 1989: 56

VERULAMIUM	theatre	c.AD300	?	refuse site (AD 380+)	Niblett and Thompson 2005: 101, 176

TABLE 31: DETAILS OF 'ANGLO-SAXON' EVIDENCE WITHIN ROMAN TOWNS

TOWN	'ANGLO-SAXON' EVIDENCE AND REFERENCE
Ancaster (Lincs)	Roman fort and *vicus*, 40 'Anglo-Saxon' cremation urns south-east of town (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 235).
Caistor-by-Norwich	Anglo-Saxon cemeteries close by (Welch 1992: 97-99). Caisor Roman Project discovered an SFB on west-side of River Tas ('Dunston Field', see http://caistordig2012.wordpress.com), geophysics results indicate much more in the area. A single sherd of Anglo-Saxon pottery (Trench 6) so far only Anglo-Saxon finds within the town (http://caistordig2011.wordpress.com/)
Canterbury	see detailed table in appendix 1
Catterick	SFB north of the river, burials with swords close to the walls. Pottery and brooches in and around the *vicus* (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 117).
Chelmsford	large cemetery outside of town (Baker 2001, fig.3 and Baker 2006)
Cirencester	see detailed table in appendix 1
Colchester	see detailed table in appendix 1
Dorchester (Dorset)	SFBs and earth-fast timber structures in area of late Roman cemetery, and in another extra-mural area (White 2007: 191), no Saxon finds.
Dorchester (Oxen)	SFBs and timber-framed buildings. Southern part of town SFB respects the streets (Frere 1962). Another SFB in north-west corner. Finds from across the town. Cemetery in area of former Roman farm (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 121). Three Saxon burials Kirk and Leeds 1952; Morrison 2009: 47-49). Another SFB aligned to street in 2008 (http://www.arch.ox.ac.uk/DOT1.html)
Godmanchester	Early Saxon pottery in mansio area, town centre, and Cambridge road cemetery. Structures located to north-east of town, and to the south. Burnham and Wacher suggest that 5th century Godmanchester reverted to its Iron Age form (farmsteads along the gravel terrace) (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 129). Further SFBs and halls, located to the south at Cardinal Distribution Park (Cambridgeshire Urban Survey: Godmanchester 2003: 37)
Great Casterton	Anglo-Saxon cremations within area of late 4th-century Roman cemetery (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 135).
Great Chesterford	Pottery in north-end of town. Large pagan cemetery outside of north gate (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 142).
Ilchester	Three 6th-century Anglo-Saxon brooches 'probably stray finds' (Burnham and Wacher 1990: 70)
Leicester	see detailed table in appendix 1
Lincoln	see detailed table in appendix 1
London	see detailed table in appendix 1
Winchester	see detailed table in appendix 1
York	Anglo-Saxon cremation burials outside of walls (Wacher 1974: 176). Early Saxon settlement in area of current University of York (Spall and Toop 2008)

Table 32: Probable urban trajectories in c. AD 450 and c. AD 600.

TOWN	SETTLEMENT EVIDENCE (ANGLO-SAXON)	SETTLEMENT EVIDENCE (SUB-ROMAN)	SETTLEMENT SHIFT	SETTLEMENT FAILURE
AD 450	Ancaster, Canterbury, Catterick, Chelmsford, Chichester, Colchester, Dorchester (Oxon), Great Casterton, Great Chesterford, Godmanchester, Leicester, Winchester	Bath, Chester, Silchester, Verulamium, Wroxeter	Caistor-by-Norwich Cirencester, Dorchester (Dorset), Lincoln, London, York	Caerwent, Carlisle, Corbridge, Gloucester, Ilchester
AD 600	Ancaster, Canterbury, Catterick, Chelmsford, Chester, Chichester, Cirencester, Colchester, Dorchester (Dorset), Dorchester (Oxon), Great Casterton, Great Chesterford, Godmanchester, Leicester, Lincoln, London, Winchester, York	-	Caistor-by-Norwich?	Bath, Silchester, Verulamium, Wroxeter

NB. Includes all major towns and larger small towns with sufficient evidence. Notable absentees for which there is insufficient evidence are: Aldborough, Brough-on-Humber, Carmarthen, and Exeter.

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What became of towns following the official end of 'Roman Britain' at the beginning of the 5th century AD? Did towns fail? Were these ruinous sites really neglected by early Anglo-Saxon settlers and leaders? Developed new archaeologies are starting to offer alternative pictures to the traditional images of urban decay and loss revealing diverse modes of material expression, of usage of space, and of structural change. The focus of this book is to draw together still scattered data to chart and interpret the changing nature of life in towns from the late Roman period through to the mid-Anglo-Saxon period.

The research centres on towns that have received sufficient archaeological intervention so that meaningful patterns can be traced. The case studies are arranged into three regional areas: the South-East, South-West, and Midlands. Individually each town contains varying levels of archaeological data, but analysed together these illustrate more clearly patterns of evolution. Much of the data exists as accessible but largely unpublished reports, or isolated within regional discussions. Detailed analysis, review and comparisons generate significant scope for modelling 'urban' change in England from AD 300–600. The research dispels the simplistic myth of outright urban decline and failure after Rome, and demonstrates that life in towns often did continue with variable degrees of continuity and discontinuity.

ISBN 978-1-78491-005-1